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## THE PAN AMERICAN CENTENNIAL CONGRESS

The Pan American Centennial Congress, or *El Congreso Panamericano conmemorativo de del Bolívar*, as it is styled officially, met at Panama from June 18 to June 25, 1926. It grew out of a desire to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the services which the great Liberator, Simón Bolívar, rendered in behalf of American confederation and continental solidarity. But the recent gathering on the Isthmus was something more than a *commemorative* body. It was one more attempt to bring about closer and more friendly relations between the peoples of the Americas. The Bolivarian Congress, or *El Congreso Bolivariano*, as it is more commonly called, was a direct result of the official action of the government of the Republic of Panama. The *Asamblea Nacional*—the legislative body of the Republic is unicameral—passed an act, January 7, 1925, decreeing that a centenary congress be held in the City of Panama in June of the following year. The act, signed by President Rodolfo Chiari and countersigned by Secretary of Foreign Relations Horatio F. Alfaro, on January 8, became by that process Law Number Five of 1925. The preamble of that law recites that the first Pan American Congress began its sessions on June 22, 1826, in the City of Panama, through the initiative of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, for the purpose of establishing a League of Con-

federation among the Hispanic American Republics;<sup>1</sup> that the Congress of 1826 was the genesis of all the Pan American conferences which have met, from time to time, in several different states of America, for the purpose of establishing closer inter-American relations; and that the Republic of Panama, besides fulfilling its obligation in paying homage to the splendid idea of the Liberator, views with the greatest sympathy the increasing Pan American sentiment.<sup>2</sup> For these several reasons the *Asamblea Nacional* decreed that the republic should commemorate in a solemn manner the first centenary of the Pan American Congress of 1826; that the chief executive should proceed to put into effect the resolutions of the Fifth International American Conference, adopted May 1, 1923, providing for the erection of a monument in honor of Simón Bolívar; invite all nations of the Americas friendly to Panama to participate in the Pan American Congress to be inaugurated in the City of Panama on June 22, 1926; solicit the aid and coöperation of the Pan American Union and invite it to send a delegation to the congress; appoint a committee of three members and a secretary to organize and prepare for this gathering; deal with the various matters in connection with the enforcement of this law by executive decrees; and secure the assistance of the other countries of the Americas in instituting in the City of Panama a Bolivarian University in commemoration of the Pan American Congress of Bolívar in accordance with the resolution of the Third Pan American Scientific Congress of Lima. The law also decreed that the members of the committee should each receive one thousand balboas, and the secretary seven hundred and fifty; that its members might be selected from among those who held public offices; that June

<sup>1</sup> *Con el fin de establecer una Liga de Confraternidad entre las Repúblicas Hispanoamericanas.*

<sup>2</sup> *Que la República de Panamá, a mas de que está en el deber de rendir un homenaje a la grandiosa idea del Libertador, mira con mayor simpatía la acentuación del sentimiento panamericano.*

21, 22, and 23, 1926, should be declared civic holidays; and that the funds necessary to carry out the provisions of the law should be included in the budget, but that the total sum so used should not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand balboas.

President Chiari by Executive Decree Number Six of February 5, 1925, appointed Dr. Octavio Méndez Pereira, Dr. Samuel Lewis, and Licentiate Fabian Velarde, members, and Sr. Don Victor M. Villalobos C., secretary of the committee on organization of the congress.

By Executive Decree Number Thirty-Nine of July 25, 1925, President Chiari prescribed in detail the rules and regulations which should govern the labors of the Committee. The congress was to open on June 18 and adjourn on June 25, 1926. The committee was directed to prepare for and organize the congress, appoint additional members, if it was considered advisable in order to carry out its work, appoint a secretary general, the personnel of the secretariat general, and such others as it might deem necessary; name committees to aid in the organization of the congress; make all the arrangements for the congress, and for the participation therein by all the Hispanic American countries and the universities and scientific corporations of the several countries; appoint committees in the various capitals of Hispanic American countries to coöperate with it in arranging for the congress by submitting lists of institutions and persons to be invited to take part in the same, by securing representative delegations from their respective countries, and by proposing important questions for deliberation by the congress; nominate the members of the congress in accordance with Article 7 of the law; allot expenses and approve the various accounts before submitting them to the treasury for payment; serve under the direction of the officials of congress when that body should be in session, but assuming direction of affairs after congress should have adjourned, in order that its labors might be completed.

The decree also specified classes of members for the congress. There were to be official delegates from the countries represented; representatives from universities, colleges, learned societies, and scientific bodies; citizens of foreign countries, resident in the countries represented, who had been invited by the committee on organization; and authors of studies presented to the congress and accepted by the committee. All duly accredited members of the congress were to have the right to attend its sessions, take part in its deliberations, and receive a copy of the publications issued by the committee on organization. Americans<sup>3</sup> who occupy a prominent position in the field of science might be appointed honorary members of the congress. Within the three days preceding the official opening of the congress, that body, under direction of the committee on organization, was to hold preliminary sessions for the purpose of electing its board of directors, as well as honorary presidents and vice presidents, and of designating honorary members of the congress. The congress was to hold plenary sessions, the opening and closing to be formal. Papers intended for the congress should be in the hands of the committee before June 10th. The official languages of the congress were to be Spanish, English, and Portuguese. And finally the decree provided for the creation of an executive committee as soon as the congress had organized, such body to be composed of the president of the congress, the secretary general, and the heads of official delegations or persons designated by the delegations. This committee was to have directive control of the affairs of the congress.

In due time the *comisión* divided the subjects to be considered at the congress into the following groups:

- I. Genesis and history of the Congress of Bolívar.
- II. Plan of a league which should conform to the Pan American ideas of the Congress of Bolívar.

<sup>3</sup> Used in its broadest sense, of the citizens of any American country.

- III. Organization of the future Pan American Bolivarian University.
- IV. Organization of the Central Bureau of Bibliography and of the scientific and literary unification as recommended by the Third Pan American Scientific Congress.
- V. Organization of the Gorgas Institute of Tropical Medicine.
- VI. Panama as the center of Pan American interchange.
- VII. Influence of the Congress of Bolívar on the development of international law. The influence of the Congress of Bolívar on the Pan Americanism of today.
- VIII. Practical method of obtaining more effective study of the principal languages spoken on the American continent.
- IX. Plan for placing in educational institutions the most important American literary and scientific works.
- X. How to convert the city of Panama into a continental center of science and commerce whereby Bolívar's prophecy concerning the future of the isthmus might be fulfilled.
- XI. The influence of the Panama Canal on the development of America from
  - (a) the commercial point of view; (b) the political point of view; (c) the social point of view; (d) the hygienic point of view; (e) the scientific point of view; (f) the Pan American point of view.

The secretary of foreign relations of the Republic of Panama, Horacio F. Alfaro, in a circular letter of April 2, 1925, advised the governments of the several American states friendly to Panama, that the *Asamblea Nacional* had decreed by Law Number Five of January 8, 1925, the commemoration of the first centenary of the Pan American Congress of Bolívar; that the congress would meet on June 18, 1926; and invited them to participate in the congress by official delegations. Eighteen of the twenty-one American countries accepted the invitation and sent official delegations. Three European countries, namely, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain, sent official observers. The president of the committee on organization, Octavio Méndez Pereira, on December 25, 1925,

sent invitations to the universities, colleges, institutes, learned societies, and scientific corporations to participate by sending official representatives to the congress. According to the secretary general, the official list of representatives was as follows: for Harvard University, Clarence Henry Haring; for Yale University, Paul Vecker; for the University of Illinois, James Zeteck; for the University of Texas, Walter M. W. Splawn, Arthur Carroll Scott, William Keiller, and Charles Wilson Hackett; for the University of Pennsylvania, Harry T. Collings; for the University of Minnesota, John E. Granrud; for the University of Missouri, Max F. Meyer; for the Catholic University of America, Thomas J. McDonald; for Columbia University, Lester M. Wilson; for the University of Iowa, G. S. Schaeffer; for the University of Pittsburgh, N. Andrew N. Cleven; for the Universidad de México, Antonio Médiz Bolio; for the Universidad de San Marcos de Lima, Leonidas Avendaño, Toribio Alayza, and Paz Soldán; for the Universidad de Nicaragua, Manuel Maldonado; for Princeton University, John Harrison Gray; for the University of Vermont, Ernesto Duque; for the Universidad de la Habana, Julio Morales Coello; for the Universidad de Madrid, Emilio Moreno Rosales; for Wellesley College, Edward E. Curtis; for Williams College, J. Edward Healy; for Vassar College, Edith Fahnestock; for Radcliffe College, Clarence Henry Haring; for the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Frederick de V. Sill; for the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, Alfred Coester; for the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, Lester W. Parson; for the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Harry T. Collings; for the American Red Cross, William P. Chamberlain; for the Pan-American Society, William James; for the American Council of Education, Lester M. Wilson; for the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Leonard Foote, Pedro Miguel, and Selby E. Hodges; for the American Association of University Professors, N. Andrew N. Cleven; for the

American Society of Civil Engineers, R. K. West; for the American Historical Association, Dana C. Munro; for the Committee on Foreign Travel, Charles R. Mann; for the International Institute of Teachers College, Lester M. Wilson; for the National Education Association, Glen Levin Swiggett; for the Sociedad Cubana de Derecho Internacional, Herminio Rodriguez; for the Academia de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de Caracas, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz and Cristobal L. Mendoza; for Carnegie Institution of Washington, John Lindsey; for the Profesorado Nacional, Horacio de Sosa and C. Arrocha G.; for the Asociación de Maestros Bmo. Méndez P., and Gmo. Andreve; for the Instituto Nacional, Eduardo Chiari and Manuel Patino; for the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Políticas, Eusebio A. Morales and Ricardo J. Alfaro; for the Sociedad Odontología de Panamá, Luis C. Alemán and J. M. Arias; for the Sociedad de Ingenieros, Leopoldo Arosemena and E. Jaen Guardia; for the Junta Nacional de Farmacia, Demetrio Fabrega and Luís Berguido; for the Sindicato Médico National, Alfonso Preciado and Augusto S. Boyd; for the Club Rotario de Panamá, Melcillo L. Cordua; for the Sociedad Literaria de Chiriquí, Manuel Roy; for the Unión Panamericana, Ricardo J. Alfaro; for the Academia de Historia de Colombia, Eduardo Posado and Alfonso Robledo; for the Universidad de Cartagena, Roque Pupo Villa and José S. de la Vega; for the Academia de Historia de Caracas, Luis Correa; and for the Sociedad Colombina Onubense, Salvador Mendieta.

The Pan American Centennial Congress met in the City of Panama, as per arrangement, from June 18 to June 25, 1926. The organization was perfected in the two preliminary sessions of June 16 and 17. Dr. Octavio Méndez Pereira was elected president, Julio Guardia, secretary general, and the official heads of the delegations vice-presidents of the congress. The queen of the Netherlands, the king of Great Britain, the president of the United States, the king of Spain,

ex-President Baltazar Brum of Uruguay, the secretary of state of the United States, the director general of the Pan American Union, Dr. Bustamente, Judge of the Court of International Justice, and Dr. James Brown Scott, together with all the secretaries of foreign affairs in attendance at the congress, were elected honorary members.

The congress held six formal and six plenary sessions. The formal opening session took place on the evening of June 18 in the *Teatro Nacional*. The stage, reserved for the delegates, was tastefully decorated, the flags of the different participating countries playing a prominent part in the decorative scheme. President Méndez Pereira declared the congress opened and announced the committee to escort the chief executive of the republic and his cabinet to the stage. This act was duly performed, after which President Rodolfo Chiari delivered a brief address. "The land of Panama, where Bolívar one day wished to see the capital of the world", he declared,

is today moved with intense satisfaction on seeing here the distinguished representatives of her sister countries of America.

The government and people of Panama greet you through my medium in this happy hour of our national history. In the name of them both, and in my own name, the warmest welcome is tendered to you. And voicing the sentiments and hopes of fraternity and justice which inspire my country, permit me to express the patriotic wish that, with heart and mind working in unison, and with full consciousness of the importance and aim of your deliberations, you will endeavor to attain fruitful and imperishable results in consonance with the great thought of the Liberator.

Moved by imperative obligations of gratitude to the memory of that extraordinary man and by an unshakable sentiment of faith in the ideals of justice, unity, and peace, which he proclaimed even in the last moments of his life, we have invited you here to commemorate the installation of the memorable congress of 1826, destined to convert into luminous realities the wise predictions and most noble hopes of the sublime visionary, whose transcendental work will stand out in ever bolder relief through the coming centuries.

Circumstances and inconveniences of diverse natures, rivalries and political competition, customs, conflicting interests, enormous distances, misgivings, jealousies, possibly even the great magnitude of the very idea, frustrated a century ago the generous purpose, the realization of which, the Liberator hoped, would insure the independence of the nations liberated by his victorious sword, affirm peace and order on the American continent, and establish the basis of its future greatness.

In conclusion he said:

Let us then, gentlemen, make it our firm purpose to discharge our unrenounceable duty so that we shall insure peace and justice to the future generations who will succeed us, and that from this august assembly which in the name of my government I declare solemnly inaugurated, will go forth the hymn of love, the embrace of unity which the common ideals of the nations here represented, demand.<sup>4</sup>

The remainder of the program of this session was then carried out. Each of the countries brought its message, expressed by the head of its official delegation, in a brief address. After the name of the speaker had been announced and before he rose to speak, the orchestra played the appropriate national anthem.

Some of the addresses delivered on this occasion were of unusual excellence and were received by the audience with great interest and enthusiasm. One such was that delivered by Dr. Camille Léon of Haiti. It received throughout the close attention of the audience. It is not difficult to understand why the efforts of this speaker should have been so successful. He was the first to speak without manuscript or even a note. All who had preceded him—the heads of the delegations were seated in alphabetical order according to countries—had read a formal written address. He spoke in French and exhibited great personal magnetism, an excellent style of delivery, and great dignity. The element, however, which most contributed to his success was one quite beyond his control. That element lay in the sympathy of the audience

<sup>4</sup> *Diario de Panamá*, June 19, 1926, p. 3.

for the peoples of small nations—a sympathy which was expressed on many occasions in a spontaneous and vociferous manner. The address of Sr. Don Alfredo Trejo Castillo of Honduras was even more electrifying in its effects upon the audience, when he spoke of *El Coloso del Norte*. What Sr. Castillo may have intended to convey by its use on this occasion is uncertain. In the mind of the members of the audience there was, however, not the least doubt as to its meaning. No speaker throughout the whole course of the congress received an ovation of equal fervor. The most polished as well as the most masterly address of the evening was that delivered by Dr. Enrique Castro Oyanguren of Peru, who took as his theme the moral rectitude of nations in their international relations. He, too, as had Dr. Léon and Sr. Castillo before him, received a veritable ovation. On the whole the first formal session of the congress was a great and illuminating study in nationalistic psychology. The congress was to be the scene again of the struggle between two irreconcilable principles: the struggle between the Panamericanism of the small nations—an ideal of Utopian equality—and the Panamericanism of the large nations—an ideal of domination.

Three formal sessions of the congress were held on Tuesday, June 22, the day of the principal commemorative exercises. After a solemn *Te Deum* in the cathedral of Panama, the first formal session was that of the morning in which the monument of Simón Bolívar was unveiled and dedicated. This took place in the *Plaza de Bolívar* and was a very impressive ceremony. President Chiari delivered an address and unveiled the monument. Addresses were also delivered by Dr. Lanz, Dr. Lewis, and others. Impressive, too, was the homage of the youth of Panama. More than a thousand girls and boys, maidens and young men, passed before the monument erected to the immortal Liberator. The floral offerings, while beautiful, were not profuse, as one might have

expected on such an occasion. The monument itself is a noble piece of work not only in the ideals which it depicts but in artistic workmanship as well. The bronze statue of the great Liberator, showing him in a moment of profound thought; the panels depicting scenes of his age; the inscriptions; the two symbolic figures, holding a laurel branch over Bolívar's head; and the giant condor surmounting the whole: all have been impressively and faithfully executed. Sr. Marian Benillure, the Spanish sculptor, has been most happy in transmitting to bronze and granite so much of the spirit of the man and his age. The most impressive ceremony, however, was that in connection with the exercises of the hundredth anniversary of the formal opening of the first congress in the *Sala Capitular* of La Salle College. The program was in charge of the secretary of foreign relations of Panama, Sr. Alfaro. The exercises were so timed as to occur at the exact hour and in the exact place of that of a century earlier. The *Sala* was of great interest. It is on the second floor of the college, and overlooks the bay. It is about three hundred feet long by about fifty feet wide. At the southeastern end is a platform slightly raised from the floor. On the wall of this end hung a full life-sized picture of Bolívar. The most solemn moment was probably that in which the delegates rose and remained standing for a few seconds in memory of the men of 1826. There were several addresses, but the one delivered by Dr. Alfonso Robledo of Colombia was, by common consent, the most masterly. His address excelled in all those qualities which enter into the making of great oratory—in thought, in style, and in delivery. And as if to give added emphasis to it all, the waves of the sea beat against the very foundation of the building with irregular rhythmic reverberations clearly audible in every part of the hall. It was a great occasion, a real challenge to any orator, and the result was one of the most brilliant of the congress.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Dr. Robledo's "Eulogy on Henry Clay" published in this number, pp. 199-204.

It was natural that the inauguration of the *Universidad Bolivariana* should have occurred on the exact day of the anniversary of the Pan American Congress of Bolívar. The exercises attending the ceremony of installation were held in the *Aula Maxima* of the *Instituto Nacional*. They occurred in the evening and were in charge of President Méndez Pereira. After reading a brief formal address, he directed the secretary general, Sr. Guardia, to read the messages of the representatives of the educational institutions and learned bodies present as delegates and the telegrams of congratulation. After this had been done, several addresses were delivered. The address on behalf of the universities of the United States was delivered by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, member of the official delegation of the United States and of the University of Texas. Dr. Hackett chose for his subject *Bolívar's Title to Immortality*. The following paragraphs perhaps sum up his thought:

On the roll of illustrious Latin-American patriots in the period from 1810 to 1830 no name stands higher than that of Simón Bolívar. Yet it is incorrect to regard Bolívar and his colleagues merely as Latin-Americans. They belong not alone to Latin-America, but to humanity and to the world. I am firmly convinced that "when after hundred centuries" posterity shall look back upon the period beginning in 1776, the names of Washington, Jefferson, Lafayette, Kosciusko, Bolívar, San Martín, and Hidalgo will shine, each in its own sphere of human activity, with equal brilliance in that glorious firmament of democracy and human freedom which was their handiwork. How then shall a Holy Alliance of a Metternich and a Russian Czar be compared with the democratic and self-governing nations that had their birth in the sacrifices and travails of such incomparable world patriots as Simón Bolívar?

While Bolívar's greatest achievement was the liberation of a region imperial in extent, that work, great as it was, fails by far to constitute his sole contribution to posterity. His prophetic vision of Panama as the seat of an "august congress" is as clearly revealed in the Jamaica letter; his political philosophy is best set forth in the Angostura address and in the first Constitution of Bolivia. Moreover—himself

a man of education and culture—Bolívar found time, despite his multifarious and stupendous duties on the field of battle and in the council hall, to promote education. In his address to the Congress of Angostura Bolívar made the following pronouncement that is worthy of being a motto of any free people:

“Popular education must be the paramount care of the paternal love of Congress. Morals and enlightenment are the poles of a republic; morals and enlightenment are our prime necessities.”

I know not and it is not my function to predict what may be or what should be the outcome of any of the several projects for the establishment of political Pan-Americanism. But of this I am certain: There is today an ever-growing cultural and educational Pan-Americanism that knows no bounds save those of truth and no rules save those of fraternity and coöperation. For the promotion of this kind of Pan-Americanism this Bolivarian University here installed tonight will be a mighty factor. It merits and will receive the blessing of all who would follow the Biblical injunctions to seek truth and to love thy neighbor as thyself.

Mr. President of the Pan-American Congress Commemorative of that of Bolívar, I am the honored spokesman tonight of the delegations from the various universities of the United States of America. In their name and invoking the spirit of El Libertador I salute the new Universidad Bolivariana. May God speed it in its great mission for the diffusion of morals, enlightenment, and the brotherhood of man, not in one, but in all of the republics of our America.

The two remaining formal sessions were brief. One dealt with the *Universidad Bolivariana* and consisted of two parts: the placing of a marble slab on the spot where the main building will be erected; and an address by Dr. Samuel Lewis appropriate to the occasion. The last was the formal closing of the congress. It was exceedingly brief and lacking in formality. Impressive, too, was the pilgrimage to the cemetery of Panama to honor the men of British blood who died serving in connection with the Congress of 1826.

The six plenary sessions were all held in the *Aula Maxima* of the *Instituto Nacional*, and were also characterized by some

incidents of unusual importance and significance. The first of these was the resolution introduced by Sr. Castillo of Honduras in favor of the movement for the independence of Puerto Rico from the United States. The resolution failed of adoption but the independence party of Puerto Rico had an opportunity to place itself on record in the minutes of the session as urging the fullest support for its efforts in behalf of political independence. Another was the effort of Dr. Harmodio Arias of Uruguay to induce the congress to go on record as favoring united action against any nation offending an American state. The resolution offered by Dr. Arias read:

*Whereas* the nations of the New World are united by eternal bonds of democracy and by the same conception of justice and liberty; and,

Whereas the logic of the principles which they have maintained and still maintain and of the interests which affect them, should determine a close unity in action the better to insure the greatest efficiency of the former and the free development of the latter:

*Be It Resolved:* To recommend to the Nations of the New World that they adopt as their policy in their international relations, the principle that every act carried out against one of them, violating the universally recognized precepts of international law, shall constitute an offense for all and, therefore, provoke among them a uniform and common reaction.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Arias pointed out that the resolution involved the principle of the Brum Doctrine. The measure was submitted to the executive committee which recommended its adoption. This was accordingly done by unanimous consent. Another was the discussion which followed the introduction of the resolution approving the idea of an American League of Nations. This was submitted by the Second Committee, and had the following tenor:

The Congress of Bolívar, after having studied the works submitted with relation to topic "b" of item No. 1, of the program of the Con-

<sup>8</sup> *The Star and Herald*, June 22, 1926, p. 1.

gress, which says: "Idea of a League which corresponds with the Pan-American conception of the Congress of Bolívar," and in view of the difficulties which have arisen in reaching immediate practical results, owing to the brief duration of this Assembly; Agrees:

1. To recognize the convenience of constituting a society of American Nations, which, within the modern conception of International Law, and, considerate of the situation of the Nations of the Continent, may correspond to the fundamental aspiration of Bolívar, which gave life to the Congress of Panama.

2. To recommend, in effect, to the Governments of the American countries, that they reach an agreement to hold a Congress of Plenipotentiaries for the exclusive purpose of elaborating the constitutive pact of that League.

3. That this Congress of Plenipotentiaries be held in an American city which the governments, by agreement, shall designate.

4. That the Government of Panama be charged with initiating before the American Chancellaries the preliminary negotiations for the convocation and assembly projected.

5. That the Pan-American Union be urged to lend its coöperation for the speediest and best realization of this idea.

6. That copies of the works presented on the subject which motivates this agreement, be forwarded to the Governments of the Continent for their information and guide.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro offered the following amendment:

1. To recognize the convenience of constituting an American League of Nations, which within the modern conception of International Law and on the basis of the juridic equality of Nations, may correspond to the ideals of Union and Justice which gave life to the Congress of Panama.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Alfaro explained that the amendment made the question clearer. He asserted that it was difficult to say that the congress was in agreement on the fundamental aspiration of Bolívar because this phrase was open to various interpreta-

<sup>7</sup> *The Star and Herald*, June 25, 1926, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

tations. The amendment was defeated, and the original resolution was adopted by a vote of twenty-eight to seven.

The last of these measures, or incidents, was the effort of Dr. Gutiérrez Navas of Nicaragua to secure the approval of the congress for the removal of the headquarters of the Pan American Union from Washington, D. C., to Panama. This resolution very naturally provoked much heated discussion. Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, the delegate of the Pan American Union, in a masterly speech, opposed the adoption of the resolution. He reviewed the work of the Union, the work in progress, and the work planned, and the peculiar fitness of Washington to carry on this work. But above all, he feared, that this proposed action of the congress might be construed as a lack of confidence in the United States. Dr. Garay seconded the efforts of Dr. Alfaro, suggesting that Dr. Navas withdraw the resolution. This was finally agreed to and the incident was closed.

Appropriate expressions of rewards for services rendered to Hispanic America during its wars for independence were officially made by the congress. It approved the erection of a monument to Henry Clay in Panama in honor of the great services he rendered the cause of Independence.<sup>9</sup> A vote of remembrance to France was also passed, as well as a vote of appreciation of the services of Cunningham and Canning of Great Britain and Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and Monroe of the United States. In addition the congress adopted the following resolution, introduced by Sr. Porras B. of Peru:

The Congress of Bolívar, Commemorative of the Congress of 1826;  
*Considering:*

That Great Britain lent to the Liberty of Spanish America, not only the support of its diplomacy, represented by Canning, but also an appreciable contingent of blood, and it may be asserted that there was no battle field in the war of Independence on which British blood was not shed.

<sup>9</sup> See the Eulogy on Clay by Dr. Robledo, pp. 199-204.

That that heroic collaboration is made more brilliant by the decisive bravery of the British Legion in the Battle of Carabobo; by the admirable loyalty of the British Aides of Bolívar, whose model was Ferguson, killed in defense of the Liberator, at the post of duty; by the actions of MacGregor, Rook, Brown, Guisse, and a hundred more; by the intrepid bravery of Cochrane and the battling constancy of William Miller of Peru.

That later on, the British heroes who survived the epopee of Liberty, incorporated themselves in the life of our democracies and also set, through their austerity and love for order and the institutions, the highest civic examples.

That finally it was such Britishers, as O'Leary, Miller, O'Conner and Stevenson who laid the basis of the History of Spanish America, by collecting for posterity the first fragments of the immense Bolivarian legend. *It is Resolved:*

That the Bolivarian Congress, commemorative of the Congress of 1826, gratefully tributes and pays homage to the memory of the British Heroes who gave their lives or fought without any compensation, except their love of Liberty and Glory, in favor of the Independence of Spanish America.<sup>10</sup>

Among the other resolutions adopted was the joint one by Dr. Guimaraes of Brasil and Dr. Posada of Colombia favoring the establishment of Bolivarian Societies, similar to those already in existence in Colombia and Venezuela, for the purpose of venerating the memory of Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, and to strengthen, in his name, the bonds of fraternity and peace among the nations of the new world.

An event of especial interest and importance, but one quite outside the official program of the congress, was the informal luncheon of the representatives of the universities, colleges, learned societies, and scientific corporations, held in the *Club Unión*. About fifty persons attended; and representatives from the leading institutions of the Americas made brief addresses. It is to be regretted that this splendid opportunity for perfecting, or at least for forming the nucleus of, an organization of the members of these institutions through-

<sup>10</sup> *The Star and Herald*, June 25, 1926, p. 2.

out the Americas was not taken advantage of. An intellectual union, which might have been brought into being, could serve, it would seem, a far greater purpose in moulding that cultural Panamericanism of which Dr. Hackett spoke in his address at the session instituting the *Universidad Bolivariana*, than any one other agency, or group of individuals working for the same end.

A part of the report of the Fourth Committee, which demands more than passing notice, provided for the creation of a Bolivarian series of historical publications. The report should have and could have included the larger idea of the whole field of human knowledge. There would seem to be no reason why there should not be created a series of studies covering all the intellectual activities of the peoples of America. A series of translations into English of representative works of each of the Hispanic American countries published in the United States and thus made available for those students of this country who are interested in Hispanic America would be most useful. Although the task would be large, yet scholars of Hispanic American history in the United States ought to be willing to lend a hand in such praiseworthy service. It should be easy to persuade some twenty or more scholars to undertake the translation into English of a series of volumes representative of the best scholarship in the field of the history of Hispanic America. Conversely, a commission of Hispanic American scholars should undertake the translation into Spanish and Portuguese of the best historical works of the United States. The American Historical Association and the Pan American Union by its approval of such a plan could doubtless give it the needed impetus. This would seem to merit the careful attention of all students of Hispanic American history.

It now remains to note the social features of the congress. These were many and elaborate. In the first place it must be noted that the delegates were received as guests of honor of the Republic and of the City of Panama, the latter issuing

formal letters to each delegate informing him of the official action of the city. The delegates were met, as soon as they landed on Panamanian soil, by special representatives of the federal government and escorted to quarters provided for them. The *Club Unión* became the center of the activities of the delegates through the fact that it had issued to each delegate a special letter advising him that he was entitled to the privileges of the organization for one month. The more important special social events provided for the delegates included the brilliant reception by President and Señora Chiari at the *Presidencia*; the dinner-dance given by the Secretary of Foreign Relations and Señora Alfaro at the *Club Unión*; the gala performance at the *Teatro Nacional*; the illuminations and fireworks by the city; the horse races; excursion to Old Panama and to the Island of Tobago; and the banquet tendered by the *Comisión Organizadora* at the *Club Unión*. In addition there were special affairs for a part or all of the delegates, as the case might be. These included the state banquet tendered by the government of the republic to the heads of official delegations; the brilliant ball by the Venezuelan minister, Dr. Lanz, at the *Club Unión*; the excursion on the Panama Canal given by the governor of the Canal Zone; and the reception by Dr. John G. South, United States minister, and Mrs. South at the American legation.

In conclusion it may be said that the Pan American Centennial Congress was eminently noteworthy and undoubtedly successful. Just what was gained of permanency is purely a speculative matter. It was evident to even the most cursory student there that the two schools on interpretation of Pan-Americanism are still in existence, and that there is yet a wide field of activity for those who believe that the varied interests of the peoples of the different sections of the Americas can be harmonized and organized for the common good of all.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

The University of Pittsburgh,  
August, 1926.

## THE CONGRESS OF BOLÍVAR

The birth of Pan Americanism was marked by the Congress of Panama, convened by Simón Bolívar one hundred years ago in Panama City. The centennial of this event was celebrated June 18-25, 1926, by the Congress of Bolívar held in the same city.

At this congress were gathered more than one hundred delegates from nineteen of the twenty-one republics of the Americas. The official delegation of the United States was headed by Dr. John Glover South, Minister of the United States in Panama. Associated with him were Mr. W. J. Price, formerly American Minister in Panama (1913-21), and Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Professor of Latin American History in the University of Texas. Colonel Vernon Richardson, state senator in Kentucky, was present as representative of Henry Clay, who in the capacity of legislator and secretary of state sponsored Panamericanism during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Delegates from eighteen universities and from fifteen of our learned societies were in attendance from the United States. Since Great Britain and Holland had sent "observers" to the original congress, their delegates to the 1926 congress were designated as "representatives". Spain as the mother country of Hispanic American republics was accorded a like privilege.

In 1826 delegates from North American and the newly formed South American republics came together on the Isthmus in response to the call of Bolívar, "to deliberate upon subjects of peculiar concernment to this hemisphere". The then unsanitary conditions existing at Panama caused them of necessity to deliberate upon other things than those planned. The congress was adjourned prematurely as one

report put it because "yellow fever and black vomit have frightened every human being from the city". The British committee lost a member and a secretary within a month. The Colombian delegation lost two servants from disease the first days of the conference. In contrast to this, in speaking at a banquet at the centenary celebration (June 21, 1926), Colonel Chamberlain of the United States Army, chief health officer of the Canal Zone, welcomed the delegates to Panama City, "one of the most healthful cities, in one of the most healthful countries of the world".

At the preliminary session on June 16, Señor Octavio Méndez Pereira, minister of education in Panama, was elected president of the congress. President Coolidge was chosen an honorary president; Secretary of State Kellogg was among those named as honorary vice-presidents.

The sessions of the congress were formally opened Friday evening, June 18, by President Chiari of Panama, who in the course of his opening address said:

Panama, where Bolívar one day wished to see the capital of the world, is today deeply moved with intense satisfaction on seeing here the distinguished representatives of her sisters of America.

The government and people of Panama greet you through my medium in this happy hour of our national history; in the name of them both, and in my own name, is tendered to you the warmest welcome, and voicing the sentiments and hopes of fraternity and justice which inspire my country, permit me to express the patriotic wish that, with heart and mind working in unison, and with full consciousness of the importance and reach of your deliberations, you will endeavor to attain fruitful and imperishable results in consonance with the great thought of the Liberator.

The keynote of the address was an appeal to the Americas to embody in their national life and in their international relations the high ideals set by Simón Bolívar. Following the address of President Chiari, Dr. Pereira, as presiding officer, declared the congress officially opened and called upon the heads of the twenty official delegations for brief addresses.

The work of the congress was largely accomplished through commissions, one of which had charge of each of the following five general subjects:

1. History of the Congress of Panama (1826). American Association or League of Nations, following the ideas of Bolívar.
2. Education: (1) The University of Bolívar officially established June 22, 1926, in Panama City; (2) Gorgas Institute of Tropical Medicine; (3) Panama as a center of scientific and commercial information.
3. Influence of the present Congress of Bolívar on international law and Pan Americanism.
4. Linguistic studies. Plans for improving the teaching of languages and history.
5. Influence of the Panama Canal on the development of the Americas from the commercial, political, social, sanitary, and scientific points of view.

Five plenary sessions of the congress were held at which the resolutions of the several commissions were presented for action. Among the salient proposals brought before the plenary sessions were:

1. A plan looking toward the abolition of war as a method of settling disputes in the Americas. This proposal presented by Dr. Harmodio Arias, delegate of Uruguay, involved the principle advocated by ex-President Brum of Uruguay, and presented by him at the Fifth Pan American Congress in Santiago, Chile in 1923. The plan was approved.
2. The establishment of a League of American Nations. This provoked lengthy discussion. Because of disagreement as to equality of large and small nations, as to jurisdiction of such a league, and as to methods of procedure, no definite conclusions were reached on this proposal.
3. Exchange professorships and scholarships for the new University of Bolívar. These proposals for closer association among the republics of the Americas in educational and scientific matters were approved.

4. The erection of a monument to Henry Clay in the city of Panama, in recognition of his friendly and sympathetic attitude toward the independence of the Latin American colonies. The memorial was unanimously approved.

Outstanding events of the week, aside from the sessions of the congress, were the unveiling of the statue of Bolívar on June 22, the opening of the University of Bolívar on the evening of the same day, and the banquet tendered by President Chiari on June 23, to the heads of the official missions.

The imposing monument to Bolívar, erected in the Plaza de Bolívar, is the gift of the nations of the American continents to the city of Panama in commemoration of the Congress of Panama in 1826. As he unveiled the statue, President Chiari said:

With profound and heartfelt emotion I draw aside the veil which shrouds this statue, the homage of America to the extraordinary man who subordinated everything to that "providential design" of giving us liberty and independence.

The government of Panama proved a royal host to the delegates during the congress. And even should the resolutions of this congress, like some passed in previous Pan American gatherings, fail to materialize, the contacts made and the bonds of sympathy established among the delegates can hardly fail to result in a fairer understanding and a better spirit of coöperation among the nations of the new world.

There are two Americas—Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic. They differ in temperament and attitude toward life. Panama, because of its location, its history, and the temperament of its people, understands them both. No area in North or South America is better adapted to serve as a center of inter-American exchange than is the Isthmus of Panama. Formerly a barrier, it has now become a bond, uniting those whom it had previously held apart. Ships from the seven seas meet in the harbors adjoining the Panama Canal; mer-

chants from the ends of the earth mingle in Panama and benefit from these cosmopolitan contacts. Such experience begets a spirit of tolerance. The Congress of Bolívar commemorating the Congress of Panama should cement these relations already formed and mark a forward step toward a finer internationalism in the Americas.

HARRY T. COLLINGS.

Delegate to the Congress for the University of Pennsylvania, and for the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

## ELOGIO A HENRY CLAY<sup>1</sup>

Una de las resoluciones aprobadas en la Quinta Conferencia Internacional Americana fue la de erigir en Washington un monumento a Henry Clay, el estadista insigne que ganó su principal renombre defendiendo en los Estados Unidos los derechos de las nacientes nacionalidades, a las cuales él presentaba con toda la simpatía de su corazón y todo el fuego de su elocuencia insuperable. No sé que nada se haya hecho para realizar tan bella iniciativa, pero séa de ello lo que fuere, debe el Congreso de Panamá no sólo revivir ese deseo, pero tambien honrar en alguna forma, como homenaje especialísimo, al hombre que en todo momento, sin vacilaciones ni desmayos, en el Parlamento y el Gobierno, casi solo en la lucha, trabajó por el reconocimiento de las nuevas Repúblicas, y seguía siempre con sus simpatías y su admiración la obra en que estaban empeñados nuestros Libertadores.

Acaso no se han mostrado suficientemente agradecidas las Repúblicas de América hacia Henry Clay, con ser que Bolívar mismo, le escribía en 1827, expresándole su admiración por los brillantes talentos y el ardiente amor a la libertad del Secretario, y agradeciéndole los incomparables servicios que él había prestado a la causa de los patriotas. Si bien no estuvo con nosotros en los campos de batalla, hubo de prestarnos sus más valiosos servicios precisamente cuando no era la espada lo que hacía falta, sino una política discreta, un bautismo de derecho, para evitar graves conflictos que habrían puesto en peligro la victoria aún vacilante y a costa de tantos sacrificios conquistada.

No es mi ánimo seguir a Clay desde la humilde labranza donde nació, en Virginia, hasta Lexington donde hubo de

<sup>1</sup> Discurso pronunciado ante el congreso de Panamá, celebrado en la ciudad de Panamá el mes de junio de 1926.

terminar su vida larga y meritoria, siendo objeto de honores que, al decir de muchos, pocas veces se hacen, tan espontáneos y tan numerosos, a un hombre. Su sentimiento del honor era en él tal, que por defenderlo se batía en duelo, y por no men-guarlo renunciaba a las más ventajosas posiciones. Candidato a la Presidencia de la República varias veces, bien conocida es la frase que en oportuno momento dijo, tan loable como ex-presiva: "I would rather be right than President". Ser honrado antes que ser Presidente. Si no el mejor orador de su tiempo, era uno de los primeros, por su palabra persuasiva, por su acción adecuada, por su voz sonora y poderosa.

Su lucha enérgica y desinteresada en favor de las Repú-blicas Americanas dió a Clay mayor gloria que el mismo hecho de haber sido él padre y fundador de la política proteccionista. El 9 de Julio de 1816 el Congreso de Tucumán declaró que las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata se constituían en nación independiente. En febrero del siguiente año los revolucionarios de Chile obtuvieron la victoria de Chacabuco, e hicieron igual declaración. En Diciembre de 1817 Clay anunció en la Cámara de Representantes que trabajaría sin descanso hasta obtener el reconocimiento de Buenos Aires y Chile. La Ad-ministración Nacional despachó comisionados para averiguar la situación de Sur América. Clay trabajó por que se enviase un Ministro al Río de la Plata. En un discurso de cuatro horas, quizá el más importante de su carrera, al abogar por la causa de los revolucionarios, expresó su sentimiento por tener que contrariar la opinión de muchos amigos, pero se consolaba con el pensamiento de estar "al lado de la libertad y la ventura de una larga porción de la familia humana".<sup>2</sup> Sostenía él que si bien la política de los Estados Unidos debía ser de neutralidad, ello no se oponía al reconocimiento, y así mismo, que la Unión Americana era el ejemplo que tenían las nuevas Repú-blicas. "Adoptaron nuestros principios, decía, copiaron nuestras instituciones, y muchas veces emplearon el mismo

<sup>2</sup> Véase el discurso del 24 de marzo de 1818.

lenguaje y los mismos sentimientos de nuestros periódicos revolucionarios.”<sup>3</sup> A quienes decían que los Suramericanos no estaban preparados para un Gobierno libre a causa de su ignorancia, él les replicaba, indignado, que si eran incompetentes para la libertad, la culpa de ello, debía atribuirse al mismo sistema colonial de que ellos querían librarse. Y en un momento de inspiración, yerguese airado y dice con ademán severo: “Granada, Venezuela y Buenos Aires, están en algunas cosas adelante de nosotros: ellos emanciparon sus esclavos.”<sup>4</sup>

Negado su proyecto de enviar a la Argentina una misión diplomática, el Congreso, no obstante, continuaba agitado con este asunto, y Clay seguía incansable en la tarea de alcanzar el reconocimiento. “Si los reconocemos, decía, más nos imitarán.”<sup>5</sup> El principal argumento que se aducía era la mala educación de los pueblos nacientes. Y Clay tenía cada vez una genial manera de rebatirlo. “Sus periódicos son muchos, dijo, y nunca he visto una cuestión discutida más habilmente que en un periódico de Buenos Aires, tratando a cerca de cuál forma de Gobierno es mejor, si la federativa o la consolidada.”

A la intensa labor de Clay débese en mucha parte no sólo la atmósfera de simpatía formada en torno de los países Americanos, sino el famoso Mensaje enviado al Congreso por James Monroe en 1823, pidiendo el formal reconocimiento de la Argentina como República independiente de España, y así mismo el otro Mensaje de 22 de diciembre del mismo año, que lleva el nombre del gran Presidente, en el cual se pone un dique poderoso a la intervención europea, y se habla de hermanar la República del Norte con las naciones que luchan y se desangran por conseguir su independencia.

Debemos tributar un homenaje ardiente y entusiasta a Henry Clay, un homenaje que en esta fecha, y en esta ciudad,

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>4</sup> Véase el discurso del 10 de mayo de 1820.

<sup>5</sup> Véase arriba la nota nº. 2.

están oportuno como merecido. Contribuyó él a la organización del gran Congreso de 1826; fue un apasionado admirador de Bolívar, quiso que se estudiara la apertura del Canal, y que libre para todas las naciones él se hiciera; fue en suma, el defensor de nuestros derechos y el que veía como propias nuestras victorias.

Pido respetuosamente al Congreso se sirva aprobar de pie esta resolución, que dispone sea erigido en Panamá un monumento a Henry Clay.

ALFONSO ROBLEDO.

[TRANSLATION]

#### EULOGY ON HENRY CLAY<sup>1</sup>

One of the resolutions approved in the Fifth International American Conference was that of erecting at Washington a monument to Henry Clay, the famous statesman who acquired his chief renown by defending in the United States the rights of nascent nationalities of which he treated with all the sympathy of his heart and all the fire of his insuperable eloquence. I do not know whether any action has been taken toward the realization of so beautiful a project, but be that as it may, the Congress of Panama not only ought to revive that desire, but ought also to honor in some manner, as a very special act of homage, the man who without ceasing, and almost alone in the struggle, never vacillating, never admitting discouragement, labored for the recognition of the new republics in congress and in government, and who ever followed sympathetically and admiringly the work in which our liberators were pledged.

Perhaps the republics of America have not shown themselves sufficiently grateful to Henry Clay, although Bolívar himself wrote to him in 1827, expressing his admiration for the *Secretary's brilliant talents* and his *ardent love for liberty*, and thanking him for the *incomparable services* which he had rendered the cause of the patriots. Although he was not with us on the field of battle, he did lend us his most valiant services exactly at that moment when it was not the sword that lacked but a discreet policy, a baptism of law, in order to

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the Congress of Panama held in the City of Panama in June, 1926.

avoid risking through serious conflict the victory as yet uncertain and won at the cost of so many sacrifices.

I have no intention of following Clay from the humble farm in Virginia where he was born to Lexington where he was to terminate his long and meritorious life—the possessor of honors which in the testimony of many seldom come so spontaneously and so frequently to one man. So keen was his sense of honor that to defend it he fought a duel, and in order not to diminish it he refused the most advantageous positions. A candidate several times for the presidency of the republic, well known is his sentence uttered at an opportune moment, as praiseworthy as expressive, “I would rather be right than president”. To be honorable rather than be president! If not the foremost orator of his time, he was one of the first, by his persuasive discourse, his compelling gestures, his sonorous and powerful voice.

His energetic and disinterested struggle for the American republics gave Clay a greater glory than the fact itself of having been the father and creator of the policy of protection. On July 9, 1816, the Congress of Tucumán declared that the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata were constituted into an independent nation. In February of the following year, the Chilean revolutionists won the victory of Chacabuco and made a like declaration. In December, 1817, Clay announced in the House of Representatives that he would work without ceasing to obtain the recognition of Buenos Aires and Chile. The national administration despatched commissioners to investigate the situation of South America. Clay put forth efforts to have a minister sent to Rio de la Plata. In a four hours' speech, perhaps the most important of his whole career, in pleading the cause of the revolutionists, he expressed his sorrow for having to run counter to the opinion of many friends, but consoled himself with the thought of being “on the side of the liberty and happiness of a large portion of the human family”.<sup>2</sup> He maintained that although the policy of the United States should be one of neutrality, that did not oppose recognition, also that the American Union was the example which the new republics held before themselves. “They adopt our principles,” he said; “they copy our institutions, and, in many instances, employ the very language and sentiments of our revolutionary papers”.<sup>3</sup> To those who said that the South Americans were not ready for a free government

<sup>2</sup> In speech of March 24, 1818.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

because of their ignorance, he replied indignantly that if they were unsuited for liberty the fault therefor must be attributed to that very colonial system, from which they wished to free themselves. And in a moment of inspiration, he drew himself up vehemently and said with compelling manner: "Granada, Venezuela, and Buenos Aires are ahead of us in some things. They emancipated their slaves."<sup>4</sup>

Although the project to despatch a diplomatic mission to Argentina was refused, Congress for all that continued to agitate this matter; and Clay pursued tirelessly his task of winning recognition. "If we recognize them," said he, "they will imitate us the more."<sup>5</sup> The chief argument adduced was the poor education of the nascent peoples. Clay had a genial way of rebutting this argument every time. "Their newspapers are many," said he, "and never have I seen a question discussed more cleverly than in a newspaper of Buenos Aires when it discussed what form of government is better, a federation or consolidation."

Not only was the sympathetic atmosphere surrounding the American countries owing in great measure to Clay's intense labor, but as well the famous message sent to congress in 1823 by James Monroe asking formal recognition of Argentina as a republic independent of Spain, and that other message of December 22 of the same year which bears the name of the great president in which there is interposed a powerful obstacle to European intervention and which bespeaks the feeling of harmony of the northern republic toward the nations which are struggling and bleeding in order that they might obtain their independence.

To Henry Clay we should pay ardent and enthusiastic homage—an homage which on this date and in this capital is as fitting as deserved. He contributed to the organization of the great congress of 1826. He was an impassioned admirer of Bolívar. He favored study of the opening of the canal which should be made free to all nations. He was, in fine, the defender of our rights and one who regarded our victories as his own.

I respectfully petition that the congress be pleased to approve by a standing vote this resolution providing for the erection in Panama of a monument to Henry Clay.

ALFONSO ROBLEDO.

<sup>4</sup> See the speech of May 10, 1820.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

## THE POLITICAL INFLUENCES OF AN INTER-OCEANIC CANAL, 1826-1926

All states that have been concerned in the project of a canal uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and severing the two Americas have felt an interest in the commercial benefits it would confer and in the military effects it would produce. Many individuals, without necessarily forgetting either profit or power, have felt the appeal of the romance in the adventure of construction or the urge to accomplish a great work of civilization. At no time since the days of Balboa has a slight valuation been placed upon the advantages of such a canal; nor, on the other hand, have many of those informed as to circumstances underestimated the difficulties and obstacles in the way of successful construction. An undertaking calculated to affect the lives, fortunes, and power of men and nations, one destined "to alter the geography of a continent and change the trade routes of the world", has had a profound influence upon thought and action both as an ideal of prospective achievement and as an attempted project.<sup>1</sup> And there is abundant evidence that the canal, constructed and in operation, will in future have an increasingly potent significance for individuals and nations. It is the purpose of this paper, written by virtue of the happy privilege of joining in the celebration commemorating the centennial of the Congress of Panama of 1826, to analyze some of the problems

<sup>1</sup> Such political interests, economic possibilities, and diplomatic implications are to be found in the history of other canal ventures constructed or projected in important strategic regions, such as at Corinth and Suez. These considerations appealed to such men as Periander, Demetrius, Poliorcetes, Julius Caesar, and Nero. It will be remembered that ships were hauled on rollers across the Isthmus of Corinth at the Portage of Diolkos. Augustus, after the Battle of Actium, thus transferred his ships in order to pursue Anthony. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, III. 5-7.

that have arisen and to study some of the implications that have been suggested in the political history of the canal.

## I

## THE CANAL PROJECTED

The story of the plans for the construction of an interoceanic waterway has been capably and adequately written; so there is no need, even if space or scope permitted, to retell it to this assembly.<sup>2</sup> These plans, entertained as early as the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., and encouraged through the centuries by one or another government, caused the isthmian region to be considered as of special strategic and economic importance.<sup>3</sup> With these considerations the political and diplomatic history of the canal began. Our story has behind it, of course, the background of rivalries and struggles of European powers in the Caribbean area, around which developed much of the romantic history associated with the new world.<sup>4</sup> Our special concern, however, is with the nineteenth century, when projects for the cutting of a canal were more seriously considered, policies more definitely shaped, and efforts more specifically made with that objective in view.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. Doc. No. 59, 56 Cong. 1 Sess., is reprint of H. Morrison, *List of Books and Articles Relating to an Interoceanic Canal and Railway Routes*. See H. L. G. Bizemont, *L'Amérique Centrale et le Canal de Panamá*; H. S. Knapp, *The Real Status of the Panama Canal as regards Neutralization*; E. Rodríguez Lendián, *Los Estados Unidos, Cuba y el Canal de Panamá*; A. S. de Bustamante, *Tratado de derecho internacional privado*; and *Le Canal de Panamá et le droit international*.

<sup>3</sup> For the importance of the Isthmus and Porto Bello in the Spanish colonial trade, see: D. Alsedo y Herrera, *Piraterías y agresiones de los ingleses y otros pueblos de Europa en la América española*; R. Antúnez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias occidentales*; E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique*; C. H. Haring, *History of the Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*.

<sup>4</sup> Haring, *op. cit.*; A. O. Esquemelin, *History of the Buccaneers*; Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*.

In the period subsequent to the independence of the Hispanic American states, the powers most interested in a canal and involved in schemes of construction were the sovereign possessors of canal routes, the prospective builders, and the governments which regarded the safety and defense of their states or their interests vitally affected. Of the first were Mexico, the Central American States, and New Granada or Colombia; of the second were Great Britain, the United States of North America, and possibly France; and of the last were, perhaps, all the American countries and all the European nations possessing colonies in the Caribbean region. The governments of the United States and Great Britain were the ones to engage in the most active rivalry, a contest of diplomacy which at times degenerated to acrimonious wrangling and at times suggested the probabilities of war. The character of this rivalry and the energy with which these governments prosecuted their aims are to be measured by the extent and nature of their interests, the relative degree of their power, and their freedom from domestic embarrassments and inhibitions. On the other hand, the sovereign owners of possible canal routes, despite their consciousness of the value of a canal and their anxiety to see one constructed, were in no case able to finance a construction. They were involved, among themselves, in a contest to induce the selection of a particular route, with each one hoping to secure the canal within its territory; and, with outside powers, they severally conducted complicated diplomatic negotiations arising out of the delicate problem of determining the bases of relationship of the territorial sovereign and the constructing power or agents. It was early recognized that for a weak country to build a canal would be for such a state to incur the risk that the canal as well perhaps as the country itself would become the prize of war in case of conflict between the great powers. From the outset, the determination of the question whether or not the canal should be constructed by a government, or by a private agency,

or by a private body under the protection of one or more governments was one of the vital problems associated with the matter. These issues were perennially emerging in new contexts as the political, diplomatic, and economic situation changed.

The measure of the activity of each of the great states with respect to a canal was determined, it has been said, by the degree of their interest and power. If we apply this criterion to the United States, for instance, it will be remembered that, during the first half of the century, the energies of the government and people were dedicated to such problems as those of obtaining control of the Mississippi River, the establishment of dominion over the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the rounding out of the national domain, and the settlement of difficult questions of internal organization. It will also be remembered that during this time the United States, although "the most powerful and oldest of the Republics of the new continent", were in comparison to certain European nations weak, having at the time of Monroe's famous declaration and at that of the meeting of the congress which we celebrate today, a population of about ten millions.<sup>5</sup> Mexico, at the same time, had a population of perhaps six or seven millions. However disproportionate was the distribution of wealth, the difference in population was not significant. In later years, however, the disproportion in population, wealth, probable fighting strength, and reserve force was to be overwhelming—for in these respects the United States were to become more powerful than all the Hispanic American nations combined. In this disparity that gradually, but progressively developed in the nineteenth century, is to be found the basis of inter-American relations not only, but an explanation, it is thought, of canal policy and responsibility. As this primacy in strength became demonstrable and indisputable, there occurred an in-

<sup>5</sup> F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (Vol. XIV., American Nation Series).

tensification of interest and activity with respect to a canal.<sup>6</sup> Attainment of equality in power with the great nations of Europe was a slower process. That was not achieved until the period after 1860. Not until the close of the century did the United States cease being a debtor-nation and acquire real economic independence. During the time of comparative weakness, during the period when inter-American commerce was scanty and diplomatic interests were divergent, and during the years of absorption in domestic problems, one would expect that the policy of the United States in respect of a canal would be tentative and defensive, instead of monopolistic and aggressive. Such would have been enlightened self-interest in a power frankly aware of the limitations upon its capacity for action. It must walk with care or "bluff"; and the United States did much of both prior to 1860—if not later.<sup>7</sup>

However controlling these considerations may have been, the concern of the United States in a canal was early recognized. Acknowledgment and demonstration of this interest was made in Clay's instructions to the delegates appointed to attend the Panama Congress in 1826; in the senate resolutions of 1835; in the house resolutions of 1829; in the treaty of 1846 between Colombia and the United States; in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain; in other diplomatic conventions such as those with Nicaragua, Honduras, and Mexico; in the establishment of protectorship over three isthmian transits—the Panama, Tehuantepec, and Nicaragua—over which was obtained the right of transferring troops and munitions of war; and in acts of diplomacy and statements of opinion, official and private.<sup>8</sup> This interest of the people of the United States led to the building of the Panama railroad, to the operation of a system

<sup>6</sup> Cf. W. R. Shepherd, "The Monroe Doctrine Reconsidered" (in *The Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXX., March, 1924); A. Alvarez, *Le Droit international américain*, Ch. V., Section XIII.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, p. 295.

<sup>8</sup> John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, III. (Sec. 348), 126-127.

of communication and traffic across Nicaragua, to participation in filibustering expeditions and enterprises, to the securing of canal concessions, and to the entertainment and expression of "manifest destiny" ideals and sentiments. The government, for one reason or another, not considering possible or feasible a canal constructed by its own initiative and under its independent control, through these years demanded "equal rights" for all nations, "free and open transit" as against "exclusive control" by any one nation; it affirmed the principle of neutralization of the canal and the doctrine of the freedom of the seas; and it stood with Great Britain and potentially with all other states for "joint protection". In fine, the policy was a defensive one.<sup>9</sup>

This official attitude and policy, though of long duration, underwent rapid, almost sudden, change. With the possession of territory reaching from ocean to ocean, with the settlement of certain questions of social and political organization, and, of course, with the development of strength and prosperity, the United States became conscious of a canal as a "paramount interest". Ex-President Grant well expressed this sentiment when he wrote that

with due regard to our national dignity and power, with a watchful care for the safety and prosperity of our interests and industries on this continent, and with a determination to guard against the first approach of rival powers, whether friendly or hostile, on these shores, I commend an American canal, on American soil. . . .<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, within this earlier period of the century, British interest in the Caribbean Sea and in a canal reached a culmination. Possessing at the outset colonial settlements on the mainland of South and Central America and insular col-

<sup>9</sup> Moore, *Principles of American Diplomacy*, pp. 122-125.

<sup>10</sup> U. S. Grant, "The Nicaragua Canal" (in *North American Review*, CCXCI., February, 1881). Ex-President Grant had agreed to act as executive head of a canal company. Cf. E. E. Sparks, *National Development* (Vol. XXIII., American Nation Series), p. 211.

onies of known as well as speculative value, and interested in a canal that would serve as an approach to the Australasian and Indian dominions, there were indications for a time that Britain might concentrate its attention on an American canal project. In Barbados, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Belize, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and the Mosquito Coast claims, the British government had a strong strategic position which bade fair to control the approaches to such a canal.<sup>11</sup> Had the claim to the Mosquito Coast been made good and had Great Britain acquired Cuba, the Caribbean would have been a British lake and a canal constructed within this period, logically would have been controlled by that power. Against this fruition the British encountered the opposition of the United States, Nicaragua, and Spain. Between the United States and Great Britain there arose and continued a long and vexatious controversy, characterized by "bluff", bickering, and bitterness. This monotonous strife continued until about 1896 and was not terminated until the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in 1901. Great Britain, in this controversy, acquired rights which were to prove embarrassing to the United States, and which, if not relinquished, might have been an insuperable obstacle to the construction of the canal. These rights were given legal basis in the permanent treaty known as the Clayton-Bulwer convention of 1850, which with a guarantee of neutrality, provided:

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or

<sup>11</sup> The harbor of Castries, St. Lucia, was strongly fortified. This port was the chief coaling station of the British navy in the West Indies. The fortifications were strengthened during the Venezuela crisis. With the decline of British interest in the West Indies, improvement of the military works was stopped and the garrison withdrawn (195). Cf. Sir C. P. Lucas, *Historical Geography in the British Colonies*.

assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America; nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have to or with any State or people for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same; nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess, with any State or Government through whose territory said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other.<sup>12</sup>

This was a treaty of abnegation on the part of the United States. For obtaining the Convention it was said that Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer deserved a peerage; and, indeed, years later he did receive one. But the basis of British interest in the Caribbean changed greatly during the century. The insular possessions, so profitable prior to 1833, suffered sharp decline with the abolition of slavery; and the construction of the Suez Canal, followed by the purchase of control of it, diverted British attention from an American canal. With these changes, there was a perceptible diminution of interest and a relaxation of intent to share in the control and responsibility of such a venture. These developments, however, were slow, the delay being due in part, perhaps, to the faulty methods and disingenuous manners of United States diplomacy.

In the meanwhile, both powers strove to obtain control of certain approaches to the prospective canal, particularly

<sup>12</sup> L. M. Keasby, *The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 164-175; Ira D. Travis, *The History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*, pp. 1-59; J. B. Henderson, Jr., *American Diplomatic Questions*, pp. 137-158; M. W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*.

Cuba, which commanded, because of its unrivaled geographic position and excellent harbors, one of the most valuable routes to the isthmus. Failing in the object of acquiring Cuba, each of the rival powers was prepared to sustain the Spanish sovereignty rather than see a third nation succeed. Just as it has been rightly claimed that the canal was a factor in securing the independence of Cuba, it was also an influence for a time in sustaining the *status quo*.<sup>13</sup> This conflict of interests had a decisive influence, also, upon the settlements of questions respecting the sovereignty of the Mosquito Coast and the Bay Islands of the Gulf of Honduras. If in this contest Great Britain was restrained, the United States was deterred from making several advantageous agreements, such as the Hise treaty with Nicaragua and the Squier treaty with Honduras. It can be safely said that the controversy contributed to the preservation of the political independence and territorial integrity of these states, which might otherwise have been endangered.

In these years when no nation was able or willing to undertake construction and when all those interested aimed at extending facilities and protection to private enterprises under

<sup>13</sup> F. Carrera Jústiz, *Orientaciones Necesarias—Cuba y Panamá*. For interest of the United States in Cuba, see letter of John Quincy Adams to Hugh Nelson, in 1823, in which he wrote:

"These islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) from their local position are natural appendages to the North American continent, and one of them (Cuba) almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indian Seas; the character of its population; its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of St. Domingo; its safe and capacious harbor of Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage; the nature of its productions and its wants furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other country can be compared. Such indeed are between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral, and political relations, . . . that in looking forward to the probable course of events for the short period of half a century it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our Federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself. J. B. Moore, *Digest of Int. Law*, VI. 380.

conditions that would prove advantageous, the states owning practicable canal routes were engaging in a rivalry of their own. There was the contest to secure the canal, for it was thought that its presence would confer benefits, power, and glory on the favored country as well as on the constructor. The many rash schemes of construction were accompanied by equally rash concessions. Many of the concessions were granted to individuals who did not have the resources, even if they had the intent, to fulfil the terms. That the states in question were engaging in high politics—what we might call world politics—and incurred responsibilities which might compromise their independence was well stated by Secretary of State Cass in 1858:

While the rights of sovereignty of the states occupying this region (Central America) should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, would be permitted, in a spirit of Eastern isolation, to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world, and justify the act by the pretension that these avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or, what is almost equivalent, to encumber them with such unjust regulations as would prevent their general use."<sup>14</sup>

Without discounting any of the advantages to be enjoyed

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Moore, *ut supra*, III. 57. For a variant of this idea, see letter of Cass to Lord Napier, September 10, 1857, in which he stated:

"While the rights of sovereignty of the local governments must always be respected, other rights also have arisen in the progress of events involving interests of great magnitude, to the commercial world, and demanding its careful attention, and, if need be, its efficient protection. In view of these interests, and after having invited capital and enterprise from other countries to aid in the opening of these great highways of nations under pledges of free transit to all desiring it, it cannot be permitted that these governments should exercise over them an arbitrary and unlimited control, and close them or embarrass them without reference to the wants of commerce, or the intercourse of the world. Equally disastrous would it be to leave them at the mercy of every nation, which, in time of war, might find it advantageous, for hostile purposes, to take possession of them, and either restrain their use or suspend it altogether." (Sen. Doc. No. 112, 46 Cong. 2 Sess., p. 152).

by the state in whose territory the canal should be constructed, the presence or even the prospect of such a canal might not in political relations prove an unmixed blessing.

Projects of a canal, aside from concessions, are said to have led to the adoption of some forty-five treaties.<sup>15</sup> The most important of these were the treaty of 1846 between the United States and Colombia; the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 between the United States and Great Britain; the treaty of 1867 between the United States and Nicaragua; the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901; the Hay-Herrán convention of 1903; and the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty of 1903 between the United States and Panama.<sup>16</sup> These treaties gave rise to many difficult problems of interpretation, which involved every signatory power in contention. In this respect the treaty of 1846 and the Clayton-Bulwer convention were the ones most productive of controversy. The treaty of 1846, as is well known, after granting rights of equality to the citizens, vessels, and merchandise of the United States, guaranteed on the part of the government of Colombia to the United States that the transit across the isthmus of Panama by any modes of communication then or later constructed should be open and free. The United States in turn guaranteed to Colombia the "perfect neutrality" of the isthmus in order that the free transit might not be interrupted and, in addition, guaranteed the rights of sovereignty and property which Colombia had over the territory. Was the guarantee of sovereignty against attack or encroachment of foreign powers solely or was it also a security against Colombia's dissident citizens? Was the government of the United States obligated and authorized to maintain "open transit" whatever the source and character of the interruption, foreign or domestic, government or in-

<sup>15</sup>This number does not include the conventions negotiated but not ratified, nor those negotiated with the idea of modifying those already in force. For some of the latter see Moore, *Digest*, III. (sections 337-368).

<sup>16</sup>For texts, see W. M. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements between the United States and other Powers, 1776-1909* (2 vols.).

surgent? Was it to act upon invitation only or upon its own initiative? Was it to wait until Colombia had exhausted its capacity or had shown its unwillingness to keep open the transit? During the fifty-five years between 1848, the date of ratification, and 1903, there were numerous occasions which called for interpretation and construction of the provisions of this treaty.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Roosevelt published a list of some fifty-three instances of domestic violence occurring in the isthmian region. In at least nine of these commotions, there was interposition of the United States and on at least three other occasions the presence of warships was requested. Once at least the United States intervened without an invitation; and once, prior to 1903, the landing of Colombian troops was prevented.<sup>18</sup> It has been contended that the authority of Colombia could not have been maintained over Panama without the aid of the United States; and, earlier, Secretary Fish stated that while no attack had been made by foreign powers, he had

reason to believe that one has upon several occasions been threatened, but has been averted by warning from this government as to its obligation under the treaty.<sup>19</sup>

By such representations the thesis would be sustained that under the treaty of 1846 the United States supported the retention of sovereignty by Colombia over the isthmus.

## II.

### THE CANAL ATTEMPTED

The French interest in a canal was primarily economic and only incidentally and potentially political. Their national interests in the isthmian region and in the new world after the ill-fated venture in Mexico, were comparatively slight. Yet,

<sup>17</sup> Sen. Doc. No. 143, 58 Cong. 2 Sess., entitled, "Use by the United States of a Military Force in the Internal Affairs of Colombia."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Fish to Pérez, May 27, 1871, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1871, pp. 247-248.

of course, it was, in large measure, French genius and wealth that made the first practical effort at construction. The story of the unfortunate enterprise of Count de Lesseps and his associates is too well known to require that it should be again narrated here.<sup>20</sup> The political influences of it, however, are pertinent. The formation of a company and its operations brought sharply into relief the national rivalries provoked by the canal.

From the United States came the serious antagonism to the project in general and to the idea of a European guarantee in particular. Although the plan of Count de Lesseps for a canal at Panama was endorsed by an international "scientific" congress and was to be financed by international subscriptions for stock, and although there was at the first a suggestion of an European guarantee of neutrality in the execution of which the part of France would probably be considerable, the British government took no decisive stand in opposition.<sup>21</sup> This abstinence should have been an important indication of the decline of political interest of Great Britain in the American canal. It was otherwise with the United States, and the French venture with its early political implications occasioned an emphatic statement of purpose and policy by Presidents Hayes and Garfield and Secretaries Evarts, Blaine, and Frelinghuysen. Nothing short of the theories and actions of Roosevelt surpassed the drastic pronouncement of President Hayes. In a famous message to the congress, he wrote:

The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to

<sup>20</sup> Cf. G. Barnett Smith, *The Life and Enterprises of Ferdinand de Lesseps*; Report of the Commission d'étude institué par le liquidateur de la Compagnie Universelle.

<sup>21</sup> A. G. Menocal, "Intrigues at the Paris Canal Congress" (in *North American Review*, Vol. CXXIX.); House Misc. Docs., 46 Cong. 3 Sess., No. 16; F. de Lesseps, "The Interoceanic Canal" (in *North American Review*, Vols. CXXIX. and CXXX.); *Commission d'étude institué par le liquidateur de la Compagnie Universelle*.

any European power, or to any combination of European powers. If existing treaties between the United States and other nations, or if the rights of sovereignty or property of other nations stand in the way of this policy—a contingency which is not apprehended—suitable steps should be taken by just and liberal negotiations to promote and establish the American policy on this subject, consistently with the rights of the nations to be affected by it.

The capital invested by corporations or citizens of other countries in such an enterprise must, in a great degree, look for protection to one or more of the great powers of the world. No European power can intervene for such protection without adopting measures on this continent which the United States would deem wholly inadmissible. If the protection of the United States is relied upon, the United States must exercise such control as will enable this country to protect its national interests and maintain the rights of those whose private capital is embarked in the work.

An interoceanic canal across the American isthmus will essentially change the geographical relations between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States, and between the United States and the rest of the world. It will be the great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores, and virtually a part of the coast-line of the United States. Our merely commercial interest in it is greater than that of all other countries, while its relation to our power and prosperity as a nation, to our means of defense, our unity, peace, and safety, are matters of paramount concern to the people of the United States. No other great world power would, under similar circumstances, fail to assert a rightful control over a work so closely and vitally affecting its interests and welfare.

Without urging further the grounds of my opinion, I repeat, in conclusion, that it is the right and the duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests. This I am quite sure will be found not only compatible with, but promotive of, the widest and most permanent advantage to commerce and civilization.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Sen. Doc. No. 112, 46 Cong. 2 Sess. (serial 1885). At the same time, Secretary Evarts officially reported:

"It is manifest that so stupendous a change from the natural configuration of this hemisphere as transforms the Isthmus of Panama from being a barrier

The selection of the Panama route brought the French venture under the jurisdiction and scope of the treaty of 1846, a treaty which seemed likely to prove as great an obstacle to the plans of Count de Lesseps as the Clayton-Bulwer convention was to those of the United States. De Lesseps is alleged to have endeavored to persuade Colombia to abrogate the treaty. Against the success of this effort, the United States government threw all the force of its influence and power. Colombia was plainly warned that abrogation, if permitted at all, would be followed by consequences decisive in purpose and character. Secretary Evarts made the effort to secure from Colombia acceptance of the idea that all cessions should be considered as subject to the treaty of 1846; he proposed that the United States should have the right to defend the isthmus by erecting fortifications at the mouths of the canal.<sup>23</sup> General Burnside, then a senator, in 1879, introduced a resolution to the effect that the United States could not view without disquietude the extension of control or protection by any European power over the isthmus, rendered neutral by the Monroe Doctrine. In 1880, it was affirmed in another resolution, which was not adopted, that the United

between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans into a gateway and thoroughfare between them for the navies and merchant ships of the world, bears directly upon the weight and burden of our guaranties under that treaty. It is equally manifest, and only less important, that the organization and nationality of an immense capital and the administration of a great and growing force of managers and laborers, and the throng of population likely to attend the prosperity of the enterprise, affect essentially the conditions under which the United States may be called upon to perform the engagements of that treaty. The guaranty of the neutrality of the transit and of the sovereignty and property of Colombia in the isthmus are one thing while the isthmus remains in its natural and unpeopled state, and quite another when it shall have been opened to the interests, the cupidities, and the ambitions of the great commercial nations, and occupied by populations of foreign allegiance and discordant habits.

"So obvious are these propositions that it may well be assumed that no contract or negotiations could ever be entered into between private projectors and the Government of Colombia except in contemplation of this position of the United States under the treaty, and of the necessity that both the private interests and the public engagements involved, in reliance upon the power and faith of this government for their protection, must be conformed to its rightful participation and control in any arrangements that may seriously affect the discharge of its stipulated responsibilities."

<sup>23</sup> C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, p. 380.

States were alone justified in controlling and governing any isthmian canal. Not content with diplomacy, there was a resort to action. Under a lease secured in 1862, a coaling station was, for a brief time, established at Boca del Toro, and an appropriation by congress was made to enable the navy to protect the canal interests of the United States.<sup>24</sup> An overt gesture of support was made in behalf of parties and interests committed to other routes. De Lesseps and his advisers are supposed to have been affected by these declarations and actions, so much so that they changed their plans and methods. The idea of "European control" was dropped. An intense and supposedly subsidized propaganda to influence opinion and legislation in the United States has been regarded as having had a placating effect, but not as having secured a change in principles. Tacitly it became accepted that European capital invested in a privately constructed canal at Panama must look only to the United States for protection. The idea was affirmed and re-affirmed, becoming a cardinal principle in the foreign policy of the United States—at least so long as controlled by the Republican party. Blaine, the advocate of a spirited diplomacy and the exponent of the principles and practice of "headship" in the Americas, sought the abrogation or modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the exclusive control of the canal by the United States.<sup>25</sup> If his view of the end to be attained was direct and undeviating, his view of the means was strabismic and untechnical. He and Mr. Frelinghuysen, with singularly inept arguments, renewed the dispute with the British govern-

<sup>24</sup> Johnson, *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>25</sup> Sen. Misc. Docs., No. 12, 48th Cong. 2 Sess. Mr. George Maney, Minister to Colombia, in letter to Blaine, September 28, 1881, stated: "I have assumed from personal expressions on your part that in respect to either a *ship canal* or other line of interoceanic communication through or over any part of this country, especially the Isthmus of Panama, that it was the main and settled policy of our Government to prevent political control thereof by any *foreign power*, . . ." And on May 28, 1882, to Frelinghuysen, "Upon appointment to this post my entire instructions written and verbal were to cultivate friendly relations, and prevent European guaranties of the contemplated Panama Canal."

ment.<sup>26</sup> The attempt to secure modification was all the more doubtful in that the sort of change desired was, in effect, that the United States "should be released from the treaty, while Great Britain should still be bound by it".<sup>27</sup> In these efforts, the diplomacy of the United States was worsted. The only importance of these years of truculent wrangling was that they brought forth a clear statement of the fundamental interest of the United States in an interoceanic canal and that they caused to be erected what seemed greater obstacles than ever to its construction.

In the meantime, the relations of the United States and the French company were not happy. In 1885 there occurred an uprising on the isthmus which necessitated intervention by the United States under the treaty of 1846.<sup>28</sup> The dis-

<sup>26</sup> Mr. Frelinghuysen relied on the Monroe Doctrine for argument in the following passage:

"The President believes that the formation of a protectorate by European nations over the isthmus transit would be in conflict with a doctrine which has been for many years asserted by the United States. This sentiment is properly termed a doctrine, as it has no prescribed sanction and its assertion is left to the exigency which may invoke it. It has been repeatedly announced by the executive department of this government, and through the utterances of distinguished citizens; it is cherished by the American people, and has been approved by the government of Great Britain.

"Thus the doctrine of non-intervention by European powers in American affairs arose from complications in South America, and was announced by Mr. Monroe on the suggestion of the official representative of Great Britain."

<sup>27</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95. In the public document "Use of Military Forces of the United States in Colombia," Sen. Doc. No. 143, 58 Cong. 2 Sess., Consul-General Adamson, April 18, 1885, reported:

"The consul of France and Italy invites sufferers by the fire at Colon to present their claims at the consulate. No other consul has deemed it necessary to invite claims, but this move, like everything else the French do here, appears to have in view the manufacture of a great grievance. Even the moribund canal company now alleges that their operations have had to be suspended on account of the revolution and when their bankruptcy is published it is highly probable that an attempt will be made to fix the responsibility thereof on this Government and thus give them another claim on the sympathies of the world—and make clear the right of France to demand exemplary damages for the injuries done to her citizens."

Carrera Jústiz, *op. cit.*, p. 25, suggests that the first Pan American Conference had a relation to the canal controversy and was caused by desire of the United States to show to Great Britain the Americas united. It will be remembered that the second Pan American Conference adopted unanimously a resolution applauding the purpose of the United States to construct a canal.

order in which the French were alleged to have been implicated, was suppressed despite the protests of the French consul against United States intervention. After the great scandal, which discredited the reputation and destroyed the credit of the company, when the company was forced into bankruptcy, it was suggested that the French government assume responsibility and control of the enterprise. On which the United States senate adopted the Edmunds resolution, which provided:

That the Government of the United States will look with serious concern and disapproval upon any connection of any European government with the construction or control of any ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien or across Central America, and must regard any such connection or control as injurious to the just rights and interests of the United States and as a menace to their welfare.<sup>29</sup>

This action was followed by a resolution of congress protesting against French control and by appropriating funds to be used by the president to defend the interests of the United States on the isthmus. Disheartened by the scandal and restrained by the intransigent opposition of the United States, France left the company to its fate, bankruptcy. Although there was appointed a receiver and later there was organized a new canal company which continued operations, the private venture was a failure.

### III

#### THE CANAL CONSTRUCTED

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Pacific Ocean immeasurably increased in importance to the world at large and to the United States in particular. This increase in economic and political significance, the so-called awakening of China, the remarkable progress of Japan, the rapid development of the Pacific coast of the United States, following the construction of the transcontinental railways, the assumption of political responsibilities and the acquisition of terri-

<sup>29</sup> Fish, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXXII.; Sparks, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIV.-XV.

torial interests in Pacific waters by the United States and other powers are so many indications of a new era in the history of the Pacific Ocean. Many historians find in this factor a new influence upon government and diplomacy.<sup>30</sup> These considerations, at any rate, had a logical relationship to the heightened appreciation with which a canal was regarded in the United States.

Now that a great private enterprise had failed, and now that British political interest in an American canal had declined, it was clear that the United States was the power, if any, that was destined to construct it.

In the midst of a contest between advocates of different routes, particularly between the Panama and Nicaragua interests, and in the midst of investigations, there occurred the Spanish-American War, in which the people of the United States received an object lesson in the military importance and possibilities of a canal, due to the spectacular voyage of the *Oregon*. The war had other momentous influences upon the construction of a canal, for the United States had by it become a Caribbean power through acquisition of Porto Rico and by assumption of special obligations and powers with reference to Cuba. Certain Cuban historians link together in a chain of causation and continuity the preparations of the United States to construct a canal, the Spanish-American War, the independence of Cuba, the Platt Amendment, and the Panama Canal.<sup>31</sup> While this thesis, thus baldly stated, lacks much in revealing causation, from premise to conclusion, of this succession of events and results, it is strong in its stimulation of inference. Of a certainty there were continuity and inter-

<sup>30</sup> Fish, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-407. Cf. J. M. Callahan, *American Relations in the Pacific and Far East*, (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1901, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-3); A. R. Colquhoun, *The Mastery of the Pacific*; J. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*; W. E. Griffis, *America in the East, a Glance at our History, Prospects, Problems, and Duties in the Pacific Ocean*; Stephens and Bolton (eds.), *The Pacific Ocean in History*.

<sup>31</sup> Carrera Jústiz, *Orientaciones necesarias—Cuba y Panamá*, Ch. I-II.

relation. Few studies of the relations of the United States and Cuba fail to make mention of the strategic and geographic position of Cuba with respect to a canal. If the canal in prospect did not have much to do with the establishment of the independence of Cuba, the canal in actuality is indisputably a decisive factor in the determination of Cuba's status.

Plans and preparations for the building of a canal by the United States went forward rapidly, resulting in elaborate and expensive investigations, careful diplomatic negotiation, and effective political decisions. In the unwonted era of good feeling between the United States and Great Britain, the obstacle of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was cleared away by ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote convention in 1901, which, at last, made possible a canal in accordance with the Hayes-Grant ideal. The so-called Spooner law, enacted in 1902, authorizing the construction of a canal, was followed by a remarkable series of events, which might be summarized as follows: The tentative adoption of the Panama route, with that of Nicaragua held in the background as an alternative; the negotiation of the Hay-Herrán treaty, which if ratified by Colombia entailed according to responsible opinion an amendment or a violation of the national constitution of that state; the rejection of that treaty and the consequent revolution for independence in Panama, which revolution was an expression of the will of the people and of interested parties; the maintenance of a *closed* transit across the isthmus so far as Colombia was concerned and a consequent protection of the revolution, which was accomplished by a doubtful interpretation of the treaty of 1846; the hasty recognition of Panama, as an independent state, by the United States, and by other powers, which action paid scant respect to diplomatic precedent; the negotiation of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla treaty, which guaranteed the political independence and territorial integrity of Panama, which provided satisfactory terms for

the construction of the canal, and which was then and later a great simplification of the problems of the United States; the purchase of the title and property of the French company for \$40,000,000—not overly generous terms; the issuance of a proclamation by the governor of the Canal Zone, May 19, 1904, which was an index to the speed with which great events sometimes occur.

The canal in process of construction and as a finished achievement already has had far-reaching political influences and effects. For the sake of brevity these, as the writer sees them, may be summarized:

1. The events of 1903 left a heritage of bitterness in the relations of two states formerly friends—the republics of the United States and Colombia. By most citizens of the United States the estrangement has been deplored and by a large number the method of acquiring the canal zone has been censured. Although this method has not been without its defenders, reparation to Colombia has been the subject of negotiation by every succeeding administration, including that of Mr. Roosevelt. Before his death, according to Senator Lodge, he came to modify his views as to the duty of the United States. It is to be hoped that the ratification of the Thompson-Urrutia treaty in 1921, even in amended form, will serve as a bond of renewed amity. The Kemmerer Commission and its successful work in Colombia may be an indication of resumption of relations along lines of constructive friendship.

2. The canal and the attendant treaties led to the creation of a new state, Panama, under the protection of the United States and subject to certain forms of intervention by that power. Indisputably the independence of Panama made for the simplification of the problems of construction, ownership, fortification, and government of the canal and the canal zone. That the relations of the United States and Panama should be of a special order is inevitable, considering the great inter-

ests at stake, and arise from the force of facts as they are.

3. The canal has vastly increased and diversified the interest and influence of the United States in the Caribbean area and its periphery. In 1904, Mr. Loomis, assistant secretary of state, looking to the future, wrote, partly by way of prophecy:

The position of the United States on the American continent is in the process of determination. The question presents itself to us from time to time in direct and practical ways that cannot be avoided. The sum of the efforts of the government and of the people of the United States to meet these questions as they become vital and pressing is the history of our position on this continent. This history we are making from year to year, sometimes slowly and sometimes with great rapidity and definiteness. That the unselfish purpose of this government, and the soundness and purity of its intention to refrain from land-grabbing, are beginning to have abundant understanding and appreciation, is evidenced in very many and satisfactory ways. I do not think there are longer any fair, open-minded, thoroughly intelligent people south of us, who are honest intellectually, that believe that this country wishes anything else than the peace and well-being of all of its southern neighbors. . . .

To many of us who have had to give close practical consideration to these matters, and to deal with specific cases, it seems plain that no picture of our future is complete which does not contemplate and comprehend the United States as the dominant power in the Caribbean Sea. . . .

In considering the position of the United States on the American continent you will ultimately have to reckon with that new and great factor, the interoceanic canal, and with the fact that circumstances have forced us to depart from our position of political and commercial isolation. The vastly augmented power of production on the part of the American people has rendered insufficient the home market. We are being driven, by necessity, to find new markets, and these economic problems must be given due, if not commanding place, in considering in a rounded, broad and comprehensive way the relations of the United States to the rest of this hemisphere and to the rest of the world.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> F. B. Loomis, "The Attitude of the United States toward other American Powers" (in *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, XXVI., p. 24, 1905).

In 1921, Dr. Raúl de Cárdenas, looking backward, said, partly in retrospect:

The Caribbean Sea is for North America [the United States] what the Mediterranean is for Europe; hence the interest that has led Great Britain to dominate Egypt; France, Algeria and Tunis; Spain, Morocco; and Italy, Tripoli, . . . may be the same that impels the United States to the maintenance of sovereignty over Porto Rico, the acquisition of the Virgin Islands, and the exercise of certain powers of protectorship. Those islands and those of Cuba and Santo Domingo not only constitute the best defense of the southern coast of the United States, but from them and from the two called the Corn Islands, situated off the coast of Nicaragua and leased to the United States, may be dominated all the approaches to the canal.

Through the Caribbean flows all the great commerce that the United States has developed with the Antilles and with Central and South America and through its waters must go all the ever-increasing number of ships that communicate by way of the canal with the various regions of the globe. To deny, in the light of circumstances, the interest of the North American Republic in maintaining its predominance in this sea, would be to disregard history.<sup>33</sup>

Some other writers are in the habit of designating the Caribbean the American Mediterranean, although the analogy is not perfect.<sup>34</sup> Especially is there difference in the number of inlets and passages. Whatever the similarity or difference, unquestionably the United States have a preponderant interest in the Caribbean. The canal, of course, is not the sole factor, but it is the chief one, the justificatory one. Call the relationship that has developed that of "headship" or "hegemony" or "preponderance", it has been evident in many forms of activity. In a study of keen analysis, Professor Shepherd wrote with reference to these activities:

<sup>33</sup> Raúl de Cárdenas, *La política de los Estados Unidos en el continente americano*, pp. 271-272.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. C. L. Jones, *The Caribbean Interests of the United States*; S. Bonsal, *The American Mediterranean*.

Without attempting either a logical or a chronological order of presentation, since neither would bring with it either clarity or consistency in the essential absence of both, a list or outline of the more obvious of the heterogeneous processes at work might be offered. It would include: applications of the Monroe Doctrine, both as it was and as it has grown to be; the determination of boundaries; the prevention of filibustering; the annexation of territory by conquest and by purchase; aid in the establishment of two republics, and the temporary administration of one of them; the acquisition of a canal zone, as well as an option on a second canal route, and an attempt to secure a third, asserting thus a claim to sole ownership of potentially competitive routes in the vicinity; the actual building of a canal; the acquisitions further of islands and harbours to be used as naval stations; the military as well as diplomatic protection of persons and property, both foreign and American; the restoration and maintenance of order, including the reservation of a constabulary under American officers; the placing of limitations on the amount of indebtedness which a republic might incur; a course of financial rehabilitation carried actually to the point of putting republics into the hands of a receiver; mediation between belligerent states; held in the formation of a species of federation of republics under moral supervision; intervention for the purpose of insuring fair elections and the enforcement of rules of sanitation, both physical and moral; a refusal to recognize presidents who had gained their positions by a resort to violence, the diplomatic blocking of grants of economic concessions to Europeans, and the destruction of the government of one republic and the imposition of varying types of restriction upon the governments of others.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> G. H. Blakeslee (ed), *Mexico and the Caribbean*, pp. 186-187. Cf. A Alvarez, *Le Droit international américain*, pp. 154-184. E. Rodriguez Lendián (*Los Estados Unidos, Cuba y el Canal de Panamá*), says (pp. 70-71): "Los corrientes de nuestros días corroboran, señores, este mi pobre criterio, de que la buena conducta del pueblo cubano, su respecto á la ley, su honrada administración, el mantenimiento de la paz y la demostración ostensible y creciente de su adelanto en todas las órdenes de la actividad humana, pueden desviar, felizmente y de un modo indefinido, esa gran amenaza que hoy se cierne sobre nuestro porvenir, ahorrandonos tal desdicha, y la vergüenza de no haber sabido conservar, para trasmisitirlo por entero a nuestros hijos, por falta de prudencia y patriotismo, el legado de sangre y lágrimas que representa la santa independencia de la patria."

4. It would be only rational to expect that the United States would be deeply concerned as to the safety of the canal and in the actual or prospective control of all potentially competitive canal routes. On the Atlantic side, four of the passage ways—the Florida Straits, the Windward Channel, the Mona Passage, and the outlet between Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands—are actually or virtually controlled by the United States. There remain the numerous passage ways through the Lesser Antilles—the possessions of the European governments of Great Britain, France, and Holland. There are available for use as naval stations the Great and Small Corn Islands; and there remain, of course, the formidable defenses at the canal itself. On the Pacific side, apart from the harbor defenses and a possible naval station in the Gulf of Fonseca, there is no out-flanking protection. Much has been made of an alleged attempt to secure by purchase the Galapagos Islands. By the much criticised Bryan-Chamorro treaty, the United States obtained the rights for a canal through Nicaragua.<sup>36</sup> This convention and the reasonable implications of the interests involved would seem to indicate that the United States would assert a monopolistic control over all possible isthmian waterways.

5. Upon internal politics of the United States the canal has had an important influence in the controversy with reference to the manner and method of acquiring the canal zone, that as to reparation to Colombia, and that as to canal tolls. As to the policy and practice of headship or dominance in the Caribbean, the people of the United States have been uninformed and indifferent or they have been frankly critical. Some have confused this problem with that of imperialism and the implications thereof; and some have regarded it as conditional upon the Monroe Doctrine in a new phase. Some

<sup>36</sup> Cf., J. S. Zelaya, *La revolución de Nicaragua y los Estados Unidos*, p. 7. On the subject of free navigation and neutrality of canal, consult P. C. Hains "Neutralization of the Panama Canal" (in *The American Journal of International Law*, III. No. 2, April, 1909).

of those who ascribe these practices to imperialism explain imperialism as a law, the fulfilment of which, of course, would relieve an imperialistic state and people of all responsibility for expansion. Many would even now, however, endorse the words of Grover Cleveland:

Maintaining, as I do, the tenets of a line of precedents from Washington's day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states, I do not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory or the incorporation of remote interests with our own.

The laws of progress are vital and organic, and we must be conscious of that irresistible tide of commercial expansion which, as the concomitant of our active civilization, day by day, is being urged onward by those increasing facilities of production, transportation, and communication to which steam and electricity have given birth; but our duty in the present instructs us to address ourselves mainly to the development of the vast resources of the great area committed to our charge, and to the cultivation of the arts of peace within our own borders, though jealously alert in preventing the American hemisphere from being involved in the political problems and complications of distant governments. Therefore, I am unable to recommend propositions involving paramount privileges of ownership or right outside of our own territory, when coupled with absolute and unlimited engagements to defend the territorial integrity of the state where such interests lie.<sup>37</sup>

Congress (especially the senate) has frequently been unwilling to follow leadership of the executive in acquiring new territory or in the establishment of headship under form of law. It is worth remembering that the senate refused the annexation of Santo Domingo in 1870-1871—despite the connection of the proposition with the canal;—refused the purchase of the Danish and Swedish West Indies; rejected the Santo Domingo treaty of 1904; and amended the Bryan-Chamorro treaty. It is to be admitted, however, that, largely under guidance of the executive, there has been a progressive

<sup>37</sup> *Annual Message*, December 8, 1885 (J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VIII. 327).

unfolding of the principles and practices of headship. Mr. Norman J. Gould, congressman from New York, on March 3, 1919, represented Theodore Roosevelt as having said in his last message to the people of the United States:

Mexico is our Balkan Peninsula, and during the last five years, thanks largely to Mr. Wilson's able assistance, it has been reduced to a condition as hideous as that of the Balkan Peninsula under the Turkish rule. We are in honor bound to remedy this wrong and to keep ourselves so prepared that the Monroe Doctrine, especially as regards the lands in any way controlling the approach to the Panama Canal, shall be accepted as immutable international law.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, the protection against non-American encroachment is real, since the menace of that encroachment, in the past, has been actual. There is not and there never has been any danger, from the United States, to the independence of such states of the Caribbean as have orderly governments and have maintained their integrity in public finance. To relieve the uneasiness felt by the peoples of the Caribbean with reference to the intentions of the United States and to remedy the deficiencies of policy and administration which have developed in the practice of headship and which have been caused by lack of information, understanding, and responsibility, are problems of the future.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

University of North Carolina.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in J. Fred Rippy, *The United States and Mexico*, p. 354.

## REAL HACIENDA IN NEW SPAIN UNDER THE FIRST VICEROY

### THE PURPOSE OF REAL HACIENDA

The chief end of colonies in the eyes of the monarchs of Spain was the production of revenue. They were conceived of as the personal possession of the crown, attached to Spain through the person of the reigning prince. This conception of Castile's colonial acquisitions, once it is grasped, makes clear the broader meaning of the term "*real hacienda*" (royal estate), as including the colonies in their totality. In its restricted meaning, however, the expression was applied to the special department of government which was organized to supervise the promotion, collection, and expenditure of the king's revenue from all sources. By reason of this intimate relation to what was regarded as the most important reason for the existence of colonies, the greatest solicitude for the welfare of this branch of government was repeatedly expressed in royal instructions to the viceroys and other officials, and every other consideration was subordinated to it, even that of the conversion of the Indians and the salvation of their immortal souls.<sup>1</sup>

### THE BEGINNINGS OF REAL HACIENDA IN NEW SPAIN

The ledgers of the royal treasurer in Mexico begin in September, 1521,<sup>2</sup> but the first royal officials (*oficiales reales*) were not appointed until October 15, 1522, when a royal treasurer, *contador*, factor, *veedor*, and assessor were commis-

<sup>1</sup> For an annotated list of works treating this important subject of *real hacienda*, particularly as it applies to New Spain, see, Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain*, Univ. of California publications in History, V., (Berkeley, 1916), p. 82, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Haring, "Ledgers of the royal treasurers in Spanish America in the sixteenth century," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II. 174.

sioned.<sup>3</sup> These officials arrived early in 1524, and supplanted the appointees of Cortés who had been receiving the royal fifths (*quintos*) and tributes from the natives for the emperor, through the medium of Cortés.

In general, the duties of these officials were: the treasurer, to collect and expend royal funds; the *contador*, to keep account books of such transactions and to audit them; the *veedor* and factor, to supervise accounts and revenue collection,<sup>4</sup> and the assessor to act in an advisory capacity. The treasurer received the large salary of five hundred and ten thousand (510,000) *maravedís* for his labors, slightly more than an *oidor* was paid for his important services; the *contador*, five hundred thousand (500,000) *maravedís*; the *veedor*, three hundred and ninety thousand (390,000) *maravedís* and the factor one hundred and seventy thousand (170,000) *maravedís*. These salaries furnish a basis of comparison for arriving at an idea of the relative value, from the viewpoint of the home government, of these financial officials and the highest judicial and administrative officers in New Spain below the viceroy, and show that the royal treasurer was considered to be next to that dignitary in the eyes of the council of the Indies.<sup>5</sup> By a law of 1538 they were given preference over all others for the office of *regidor* in the towns in which they were resident, but it seems that this and other provisions only served to make them arrogant and self-important, as they imagined this recognition was due to superior ability.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1883), II. 92, 142.

<sup>4</sup> The office of *veedor* and the office of factor were ordered jointed in one person by royal *cédula* of November 2, 1549. A. G. I. 87-6-2, *Oficio y parte*, 118.

<sup>5</sup> The royal treasurers in New Spain (before Mendoza) during the early period were: Julian de Alderete, September 25, 1521-May 17, 1522; Diego de Soto, May 20, 1522-March 1524 (also deputy under Alderete); Alonzo de Estrada, August, 1524-February 16, 1530; Jorge de Alvarado (*ad interim*), February 16, 1530-November 6, 1531; Juan Alonso de Sosa, November 1531-March 1533; Fernando de Portugal, 1533-.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid, 1726-27), dec. VI., lib. V., cap. IX. 12?

When Antonio de Mendoza took charge of New Spain as viceroy in 1535, with special instructions to attempt the increase of royal rents, he discovered little method in the existing system of collecting the king's due and great confusion in the records of these financial transactions. Vast sums which should have been in the royal coffers (*cajas reales*) were unrightfully in unknown hands and practices for evading the payment of tribute, such as substituting personal service for gold, were being carried out quite unchecked. He called a halt to this by instituting regular tribute-rolls based on the original payments made by the natives and levied and collected tributes from these. To keep a closer oversight on the royal officials and to prevent peculation, he provided account books which were placed in all royal coffers and required that sworn statements of the royal moneys collected be inscribed in them every week. To straighten out the muddled accounts, he appointed two auditors, Licentiate Ceynos and his major-domo, Agustin de Guerrero, July 25, 1536.<sup>7</sup>

The first thorough *visita* of the work of the royal officials came in 1544, when Gonzalo de Aranda was sent out with the visitor, Tello de Sandoval, equipped with complete instructions for that purpose. In an informing letter to the king, written in Mexico City, May 30, 1544, Aranda reported that he had examined the accounts of the treasurer Juan Alonzo de Sosa and a number of lesser officials and had found them to be correct. He had only heard of rumors of graft in connection with the officials of Vera Cruz, whom he excused, with refreshing humanity, on the grounds that the place was notoriously unhealthy and that the subofficials there had been forced to serve without salary. The only fault he could find with Ceynos and Guerrero, Mendoza's hard working auditors, was that they had failed to do the most important thing, namely, check the accounts they had examined with the trib-

<sup>7</sup> A. G. I. 58-6-9, Letter of Gonzalo de Aranda to the king, Mexico, May 30, 1544.

ute-rolls (*libro de las tasaciones*), as it showed exactly what should have been paid in by each pueblo every year. The auditors had been engaged in their task for seven years, seven months, and sixteen days; less Sundays and three days a week devoted to their other duties, and the time Guerrero had been absent during the Mixton War, or a total of one hundred and fifty-eight days a year for seven years and that without pay.<sup>8</sup> That Aranda did not realize the magnitude of the task set these men at this time is evidenced by the fact that in 1548 we find him striving in vain to complete his own work of checking the accounts of the *oficiales reales* of New Spain before his commission expired.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE SOURCES OF ROYAL REVENUE IN NEW SPAIN

In the opening years of the conquest much ready-made wealth in gold, silver, and precious gems was confiscated by Cortés and his followers as the legitimate spoils of war. Of this a fifth (the *quinto*) was supposed to go to the crown of Castile. Another source of income was the tributes. These were paid as an acknowledgment of allegiance by the Indian tribes.<sup>10</sup> In 1524, with the advent of royal officials, customs duties (*almojarifazgo*) were levied on goods entering New Spain and during the succeeding seven years fifty thousand pesos were realized from this source alone.<sup>11</sup> Receipts from judicial fines and confiscation were also lucrative but, in large

<sup>8</sup> A. G. I. 58-6-9, Letter of Gonzalo de Aranda to the king, Mexico, May 30, 1544.

<sup>9</sup> A. G. L. 87-6-2, *Oficio y parte*, Burgos, October 4, 1548, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>10</sup> The amount of the tribute was reduced to thirty-two *reales* during Mendoza's tenure of office. Priestley, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>11</sup> C. H. Haring, *op. cit.*, in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II. 177. "The *peso de minas* was an imaginary coin used as a unit of value in America before (and after) the establishment of royal mints there and equaled 1/50 of a *marc* of 22 carat gold or 4.18 grams of gold. The *peso fuerte* was a silver coin worth 272 *maravedis* or eight *reals*, which was minted in America after 1537 and became famous as the Spanish dollar or 'pieces of eight'. The peso referred to here is the former.

part, were spent to support the judges, in donations to the church, and to those favored by the king. These, with the addition of a good revenue derived from the *juzgado de bienes de difuntos*, a body created in 1550 to hold decedents' estates in trust,<sup>12</sup> and the gifts to the king (*donativos*), constituted the chief devices by which the Spanish monarch secured an income from his *real hacienda*.

The most important supply of the wealth which the Castilian kings required in great quantities were the mines. Their failure would have meant the loss of almost all of that revenue for they were the life of the land. In his pressing need of money to keep his grandiose projects going Charles V. could not hamper production just to assure the full payment of his due. For example, the enforcement of the *quinto* was not strict, particularly in the case of the silver mines, where, to encourage an increased output, the collection of amounts varying from a tenth to a fifth of the silver mined was authorized at various times down to 1572, when the king's share was fixed at one tenth.<sup>13</sup>

#### THE MINES OF NEW SPAIN

There were comparatively few mines in active operation in New Spain at the time of the conquest, but the country was one of the richest minerals areas in the world. The *conquistadores* soon discovered this fact and the location of native "diggings" and the discovery of mines became one of the most important duties of the pioneers into each new region.

<sup>12</sup> Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II. 322, footnote 7.

<sup>13</sup> An interesting instance of this suspension of the *quinto*, as it applied to silver, is afforded by the law of September 4, 1540, in which it was declared that all who would lend silver to the crown in its desperate need would only be required to pay one eighth on it and on all other silver mined for a period of two years. Luis de Castilla was sent to the individual mines to collect the loan. This was perhaps an attempt to induce mine owners to speed up production, but it is doubtful that the emperor would ever be in a position to repay what he borrowed. A. G. I., 88-6-2, Letter from the viceroy, Mexico, March 4, 1542.

The principal areas in which mines were worked in the period of Antonio de Mendoza were to the north of Mexico in the districts of Tasco, Zumpango, Zultepeque, and the southeastern portion of the valley of Toluca. These mines were organized as *alcaldías de minas* and were considered important enough to be inspected by the visitor Sandoval.<sup>14</sup> Other mines were actively exploited in the sierras of Oaxaca, in Michoacan and in Nueva Galicia, where the head towns were for the most part simply mining camps. Near Compostela was the famous mine of Espiritú Santo, discovered in 1543, and in 1548, Juan de Tolosa and his companions Cristóbal de Oñate, Diego de Ibarra, and Baltasar Treviño de Bañuelos, found the fabulously rich mines of Zacatecas and established the town of Nuestra Señora de Zacatecas nearby. Miners flocked to it from all parts of New Spain and for a time the adjacent regions of Nueva Galicia were threatened with total depopulation as their citizens joined in the "gold-rush".<sup>15</sup>

#### EARLY MINING LAW

The excitement and disorder which are the inevitable accompaniment of mining rushes were not absent in New Spain, where the country was soon dotted over with mushroom mining settlements (*reales de minas*). The consequent disturbances led the viceroy to frame laws to govern questions of claims, discovery, and ownership of mines and to introduce officials into the mining country to enforce them. As early as July 3, 1536, he promulgated such laws<sup>16</sup> and, when they failed to secure the desired results, continuous revision of them was undertaken, so that finally, January 14, 1550, a code of min-

<sup>14</sup> A. G. I., 48-1-2/24, Probanzas hechas por parte del visitador Sandoval.

<sup>15</sup> Vicente Riva-Palacio (Ed.), *Mexico a través de los siglos* (Mexico, 1887-1889), II, 483 *et. seq.* contains an excellent brief account of early mining activity in New Spain.

<sup>16</sup> Traducción paleográfica del libro cuarto de actas de cabildo de la ciudad de México (Mexico, 1874), p. 24.

ing law<sup>17</sup> was formulated which remained in force in New Spain down to the end of 1577 at least.<sup>18</sup>

These laws of January 14, 1550, were made necessary by the fact that in many parts of New Spain mines had not been registered as the law required and that there had been fraud in registration to such an extent that fear of litigation between rival claimants made miners afraid to work mines from which great quantities of metal had formerly been extracted. This brought about a great loss of royal revenue. Consequently, the viceroy, in order to restore order, rescinded the mining laws of March 13, 1548, which had been in vigor and formulated a new, and, as it proved to be, final code of mining law.

The laws of 1550 provided that all mine owners were to appear before the nearest *justicias de minas* with their titles and certificates of registration and, in case they were not registered, were to swear to the location and ownership of the mines. To prevent confusion in the matter of ownership very severe punishment was to be meted out to anyone who failed to comply with this provision of the law. Explicit directions were given as to the exact procedure to be followed. The owners were to register their mines before the *juez* and *escribano* in each district and a copy of the register was to be sent to the viceroy every year, the original being preserved in the royal strongbox (*arca a las tres llaves*) to prevent alterations.

Mendoza was meticulously careful in providing rules whereby unoccupied mines might be claimed by new proprietors. The person finding such property could go before a justice and enter a petition for it as abandoned (*despoblada*).

<sup>17</sup> "Ordenanças hechas por el Sr Vissorey don Antonio de Mendoza sobre las minas de la Nueva Spana," Mexico, January 14, 1550, in The Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library.

<sup>18</sup> A. G. I., 58-5-9, Letter from the Audiencia, Mexico, December 16, 1577. This manuscript complains that the laws made by Mendoza concerning the discovery and registration of mines are still in effect in New Spain despite the fact that many of them conflict with the regulations of the Council of the Indies.

In this petition the claimant was required to give a clear description of the mine both as to its condition and its location. The law further stipulated that these documents were to be read aloud for four consecutive Sundays at the largest church in the vicinity immediately after mass and with at least eight Spaniards present. If no one appeared to dispute the new claim, the petitioner was then permitted to file on the apparently abandoned property. To secure a clear title, however, the new owner was obliged to work the mine for three months with the understanding that if the original owner appeared during this interval it would revert to him. These careful provisions make it evident that "claim-jumpers" were not unknown in the sixteenth century in New Spain and that the viceroy was determined to protect legitimate owners against the breed.

In the important matter of the discovery of mines Mendoza's laws contain clauses which sound quite modern in their tone. They declare that any person discovering gold or any other metal in a place one thousand *varas*<sup>19</sup> distant from a known mine was the discoverer of it and as such entitled to a claim forty by eighty *varas* in extent, if, within two weeks after the discovery he registered his mine with the nearest royal officials. Failure to do so within the stated time reduced the claim of the original discoverer to a plot sixty by thirty *varas*, or in other words, he lost the benefits of his priority and received no more land than the late-comers. In the event that two persons discovered pay ore within a new area at the same time, the one who succeeded in filing his claim before a royal official first would be the legal discoverer, despite the fact that the other might have extracted ore first.

A fortnight after registry the discoverer was obliged to select his claim and to locate all new arrivals in the time order of their coming. In case two should request claims simultaneously the law decreed that the question of precedence

<sup>19</sup> A *vara* is a linear measure of approximately thirty-three inches.

should be left to the decision of chance and that lots should be drawn. Where one individual asked for a claim and another took possession first and then asked for his location, the latter would be considered to have the better legal right to the property ("*tenga prehemencia de ser el primero*").

Persons were permitted to take possession of mines for others by this law if properly provided with proxies, and when a mine was discovered by a slave it became the property of his owner just as if he had acted in person. The law concluded with minute regulations concerning the construction of mines and forbade all *alcaldes mayores de minas* and other officials to have any kind of an interest in a mine under the heaviest penalties for an infraction of its provisions.

#### THE REGULATION OF THE COLLECTION OF THE ROYAL FIFTH

The nerve-center of the entire system whereby the king's share of the products of the mines of New Spain was gathered together from the remotest parts of the viceroyalty was the smelting house (*casa de fundicion*) in Mexico City. To it came all the gold and silver to have the king's portion removed and out of it went the bullion which loaded the fleets at Vera Cruz en route for Spain, where this wealth was ultimately, if not too immediately for the comfort of the Spaniards, broken up and scattered over Europe. The output was tremendous<sup>20</sup> and this sudden influx of gold and silver undoubtedly exerted an influence on Europe comparable to the effect of the recent out-pouring of paper money by the government presses there. At the outset, however, it did sup-

<sup>20</sup> In the first period, 1521-1532, 694,000 pesos were received by the treasury officials in New Spain, of which about 373,000 pesos went to the king. From November, 1531 to August, 1539, the receipts more than doubled and 333,000 pesos were shipped to the king. The increased cost of government in New Spain undoubtedly absorbed a good part of the total which would otherwise have been sent to Spain. The following decade saw the receipts doubled again (2,488,000 pesos) and, aided by the sale of *bulas de cruzada*, 640,500 pesos were transported from Vera Cruz to Sevilla as the royal share. Haring, *op. cit.*, in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II. 177-178.

ply a keenly felt want of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, namely gold and silver, to meet the demands of the continent's expanding commercial activity.

Mendoza as viceroy, was, with the aid of the treasury officials, directly responsible for the organization of the necessary machinery of government that would insure a steady flow of gold and silver from the mines of New Spain, through the smelting house and on board the vessels to be convoyed to his liege lord in Europe. To this end he compiled laws for the proper handling of the precious metals brought into the *casa de fundicion*, dated in Mexico, March 22, 1539.<sup>21</sup> These ordinances covered the work of extracting the royal fifth and for casting it into bars marked by a distinctive stamp in the keeping of the *veedor*, whose chief duty was to guard this treasure. In addition, the *casa de fundicion* received gold and silver in tributes from the Indians which served to swell the total of shipment to Spain. This establishment was placed under the responsible control of the officials of *real hacienda*.

The political mechanism which took care of the transportation of the precious metals from the mines to Mexico City and restored the balance to the owners after the *casa de fundicion* had done its work was likewise constructed by Mendoza. His ordinances of August 30, 1539,<sup>22</sup> ordered that there should be a strong-box in every region in New Spain where silver was mined, with three keys, one in the possession of the *alcalde mayor* or *justicia*, one in that of the *escribano de minas* and the third in the keeping of a deputy selected from among the miners by the first two. In this chest, placed in the official residence of the *alcalde*, was the official stamp for the mining area, with which all the metal was stamped before it was sent to Mexico City. For further identification each owner of mines and slaves (as the labor in the mines was mainly slave) or company that operated mines, also had a stamp of unique

<sup>21</sup> A. G. I., 88-6-2, "Ordenanzas," Mexico, March 22, 1539.

<sup>22</sup> A. G. I., 88-6-2, "Hordenanzas hechas por el yllmo Dn Anto de mendoza," Mexico, August 30, 1539.

design which was likewise deposited in the district strong-box. The *escribano de minas* kept a record of these marks and every Sunday of the year at two in the afternoon, all the mine proprietors met with the king's officials in the office of the *alcalde* for the purpose of weighing and stamping the week's output of silver. As the miners gave account of what their mines had produced the *escribano* saw to the proper entry of amounts and persons into official account books and forwarded a copy to the treasury officers in the capital city. This was intended to frustrate any attempt to evade the sending of the full amount of metal to the *casa de fundicion* for the payment of the royal fifth. All owners were obliged to bring their silver, so marked and registered, to Mexico within two months, under penalty of seizure for the king.

All illicit traffic in silver was strictly prohibited and the punishment provided in the law was very harsh,<sup>23</sup> indicating that such illegal trade was going on and that the viceroy wished to put an end to it. The officials responsible for enforcement were paid the small salary of fifty pesos annually, but were granted a liberal percentage of the fines assessed violators of the law. This last provision was intended to intensify their zeal by making their incomes dependent on the vigor with which they enforced obedience of the viceregal ordinances.

The *casa de fundicion* in Mexico City was nominally under the control of the treasury officials, but in actual practice the *veedor* was in direct charge and had in his keeping the official metal stamp of New Spain. Under him were the smelter (*apartador*), foundryman (*fundidor*), assayer (*ensayador*), stamper (*marcador*), and other officers who did the work of separating the king's share from the mine-owners' share and of preparing the metal bars for shipment to Spain.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The penalty consisted of the loss of mines and slaves, one hundred stripes in public and banishment.

<sup>24</sup> Under Mendoza the offices of *fundidor* and *ensayador* were held by one person, Estebá Gómez, a silversmith by trade.

## THE SHIPMENT OF PRECIOUS METALS TO SPAIN

Not all of the gold and silver collected for the king in New Spain reached the royal coffers in Europe. Of a total of one million, five hundred and eighteen thousand, three hundred and forty pesos (1,518,340) received by the treasurer of New Spain, Juan Alonso de Sosa, between June, 1544, and December, 1549, the crown realized only six hundred thousand (600,000) pesos; four hundred and fifty thousand (450,000) pesos were paid to the viceroy's brother Bernaldino de Mendoza, captain-general of the Spanish galleys, for the pay of his crews and the balance was spent in New Spain itself.<sup>25</sup> The largest disbursements were for the civil list: viceroy, judges, treasury and provincial officials; while the bishops of Oajaca and Michoacan, whose tithes were collected by the government, received five hundred thousand (500,000) *maravedís* as salary. The regular shipment of the net amount of bullion in New Spain, after all deductions for local expenses had been made, was one of the most important and trying tasks of the department of *real hacienda*. It was more than a question of dealing with light-fingered Spaniards as the ocean had to be crossed and to the perils of the deep was added the menace of swift foreign corsairs.<sup>26</sup>

When a remittance was sent to the king's treasury in Spain, the bullion was carried from Mexico City to Vera Cruz by mule-train or on the backs of Indian-carriers. It was usually accompanied by an armed escort and by one or more of the higher officials of *real hacienda* to the shipping point. In Vera Cruz it was weighed and boxed before loading and the

<sup>25</sup> Haring, *op. cit.*, in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, II. 182.

<sup>26</sup> Mendoza received warning concerning piratical preparations in Europe on a number of occasions even before the raiders left their home ports. An instance of the effective intelligence work of these early Spaniards is contained in a notice of six French corsairs off the coast of Tierra Firme, which news was immediately sent to Miguel Ruiz, captain of the armada in Havana, while at the same time Vera Cruz was prepared to meet an attack as a rich fleet was loading there. Mendoza, in a letter, dated Mexico, March 3, 1544, in A. G. I. 2-2-1/22.

officials of the fleet attested to the amounts their vessels received.<sup>27</sup> Each ship was required by law to carry 10,000 pesos worth of gold<sup>28</sup> and shipments might be omitted every year or so to permit a large amount to accumulate or to avoid risk when the danger of the voyage was too great in any one year. These fleets carried not only the king's gold and silver but also that of merchants and other citizens. No direct shipment to Spain was permitted, however, as all vessels had to proceed to Santo Domingo first to join the fleet for convoy to Sevilla.<sup>29</sup>

Even after the ships left New Spain with a carefully weighed and stowed cargo of yellow and white metal and arrived in Spain unmolested, it was not always certain that all the gold and silver would reach the rightful parties. For instance, the money raised for the payment of the crews of the galleys commanded by the viceroy's brother, a sum of 60,000 *ducados*, arrived in Spain short in weight on the consignment of metal.<sup>30</sup> To fix responsibility in such cases it was thereafter required that a sworn statement of the exact amounts loaded at Vera Cruz be forwarded to the *oficiales reales* in Spain to enable them to check the accounts of the receipt of gold and silver made by the House of Trade in Sevilla.<sup>31</sup>

The viceroy was supervising director of this entire movement of the treasure of New Spain from the mines to the ships at Vera Cruz, and, although technically his responsibility

<sup>27</sup> Gonzalo de Aranda was present in Vera Cruz when ten vessels were being freighted with gold and silver, and described the process in his report to the king. This fleet, which he observed, carried over 14,000 *marcos* of fine silver and 100,000 *castellanos* of gold. A. G. I., 58-6-9, Letter to the king, Mexico, May 30, 1544.

<sup>28</sup> By a *cédula* of February 7, 1549, the king ordered Mendoza to increase the amount to 15,000 pesos as his expenses were very heavy and his need for more money imperative. A. G. I., 87-6-2, *Oficio y parte*, Valladolid, February 7, 1549, XLVI.

<sup>29</sup> A. G. I., 145-1-10, *Memorial*, received in Sevilla, March 22, 1538. In this communication the merchants of New Spain protested against the necessity of going via Santo Domingo and complained of the delays it involved.

<sup>30</sup> A. G. I., 87-6-2, *Oficio y parte*, Valladolid, June 1, 1549, LXXVI.

<sup>31</sup> A. G. I. 58-6-9 Letter to the king, Mexico, May 30, 1544.

ceased when the fleet set sail, his position as the highest imperial agent in North America gave him an interest in the defense of all America against possible foreign aggression and he followed the movement of the fleet with anxiety. Communication with the home government, supplies and colonists from Spain, everything, depended on the safe going and coming of the fleet. Mendoza's interest is seen in his early championship of Havana rather than Santo Domingo as a fleet-base.<sup>32</sup> It lay, as he pointed out, on the natural commercial highway to Spain and all the treasure from New Spain proper and its outlying provinces and even from Peru could be brought there in safety and convoyed to Europe.<sup>33</sup> Subsequent history bore out the wisdom of his choice.

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<sup>32</sup> Mendoza, letter, Mexico, December 10, 1537, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos, relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía* (Madrid, 1864-1889), II. 186.

<sup>33</sup> The best discussion of the European end of trade regulation is contained in C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge, 1918).

## BOOK REVIEWS

*American Foreign Investments.* By Robert W. Dunn. (New York: Huebsch and the Viking Press, 1926. Pp. 421. \$5.00.)

In this volume the author presents a detailed statement of American investments in foreign countries and reprints documents illustrating the terms of certain concessions and bankers' loan contracts. He does not attempt to interpret or to suggest the possible political significance of these growing investments. This task he leaves to others. Although the author is known in some circles as a radical, there is nothing extreme or biased in this work.

The writer is mainly concerned with the some nine billion dollars of capital invested by citizens of the United States abroad. He has little to say about the twelve billion dollars which constitute the sum total of the loans of the United States government to the governments of the other nations of the world, devoting only a few pages to this latter topic.

The figures presented for the investments of American citizens outside of the boundaries of the United States serve to emphasize the importance of Hispanic America in our financial transactions. Since 1923 our investments in these countries have amounted to about forty-five per cent of the total of our foreign investments, as compared with about twenty-five per cent for Canada and less than twenty per cent for Europe. Of all the Hispanic American countries, citizens of the United States have the largest stake in Mexico and in Cuba, about equal amounts—some one and one-fourth billion—being invested in each of these nations. In fact almost one-third of our total foreign investments have been placed in these two areas. With reference to the other states of the region, it is worthy of note that more American capital is invested in Chile (four hundred million dollars) and in Brazil (three hundred million dollars) than in all the rest of South America combined.

The documents presented in the appendices are of very great significance. To the reviewer, at least, they seem to tell the story of ruthless exploitation and financial domination. The rates of interest

are inordinately high, few if any of the government bonds have been purchased at par, and often the revenues and other resources of the nation have been hypothecated and placed under foreign control for a generation or more. Moreover, some of the concessions which have been made to corporations are such as no group of citizens in the United States would submit to for any period of time. Two illustrations will suffice. According to its contract, the Cuban Telephone Company may charge private families from four to five dollars and business men from six to seven dollars per month for the use of this modern convenience. Minor C. Keith purchased six million dollars' worth of eight per cent bonds of the government of El Salvador for eighty-eight per cent par and deducted more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for commission!

In publishing this volume Mr. Dunn has rendered the American public a great service. It will be read with consuming interest by every student of Hispanic American history and of American foreign relations. Biennial or quadrennial revisions would be of inestimable value to the American public when it shall be called upon to render a verdict with reference to our foreign policy, and particularly our Hispanic American policy.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

*History of the Latin-American Nations.* By William Spence Robertson, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (London and New York: D. Appleton and Company. *Revised Edition*, 1926. Pp. xxiii, 630. \$4.00.)

Professor Robertson has again rendered the cause of Hispanic American history a distinct service. The revised edition of his excellent textbook is a distinctly creditable piece of work. By a process of deletion, alteration, and addition he has been able to enrich it to a considerable degree. The main body of the text, however, remains the same size as before, that is it has just exactly the same number of pages (569) as in the original. This in itself is no small thing. And yet within this space—a space limited because there has been little either of deletion or alteration—the author has been able to add the following paragraphs: "Alvear Becomes President" of Argentina (pp. 254-255); "Serrato Becomes President" of Uru-

guay (p. 270); "His (Alessandri of Chile's) Administration" (pp. 312-313); "President Saavedra" of Bolivia (p. 334); "Recent Tendencies" in Peru (p. 358); "From Holguín to Nel Ospina" in Colombia (pp. 383-384); "Marquez Bustillos Succeeded by Gómez" as president of Venezuela (pp. 428-429); "The Central American Conference of 1922-1923" (p. 469); and for Mexico: "His (Obregón's) Policies" (pp. 517-518); "The Impasse Broken" (pp. 518-519); and "The Succession (of Calles) to the Presidency" (pp. 519-520); and "Arbitration of the Tacna-Arica Controversy" (p. 537). Modifications by deletion, alteration, or addition have also been made on pages 225, 287, 334, 403-404, 445, 468-469, 477, 517, and 566. Two maps and a graph have been inserted in the main body of the text. The "Map Showing Boundary Dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain" faces page 416 and the "Economic Map of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, the Central American Republics, and Mexico" faces page 520, while the "Graph Showing Import and Export Trade of the United States with the Latin-American Countries, 1821-1923" faces page 566. The "Contents" and "Index" have been made to conform to the changes in the main body of the text. The "Preface" has been but slightly changed, while the list of references and bibliographical materials has been somewhat enlarged. The incorporation of the works by James and Martin, Warshaw, Webster, Stuart, Inman, Thomas, Brum, and Sherrill was of course to be expected. But the most important single series of additions is to be found in the "Appendix". Therein are fifteen "Tables Showing Tendencies in the Commercial Relations of the Latin American Nations with Other States". These tables, covering pages 571 to 579, deal with "Commerce of the United States with the Latin-American Nations in the Year Ending September 30, 1825", and for the years ending June 30, 1860, 1913, and 1918-1923 (Tables I-II, VI, VII-XIII); "Exports and Imports of the Principal Latin-American Nations in 1897" (Table III); "Percentage of Latin-American Exports to Leading Countries" (1913, 1916-1922, to U. S., Great Britain, France, and Germany) (Table IV); the same for Imports (Table V); "Ten-Year Table of Latin-American Foreign Commerce" (1913-1922) (Table XIV); and "Export and Import Trade of the Latin-American Nations with the United States in 1922" (Table XV). The graph which is inserted in the main body of the text, but which should have been put in the appendix, gives a summary of one hun-

dred years of trade between the United States and Hispanic America. The typographical errors are about nil. "Chili" for "Chile", page 569, is an exception. The volume makes a neat appearance, an evidence of good workmanship.

Regard for space seems to have prevented a comprehensive revision of this textbook. In the opinion of the reviewer the revised edition does not seem to be in keeping with the character of the original purpose of this work. Professor Robertson's *History* is by far the most comprehensive one volume study on Hispanic America which has thus far appeared. For this reason the revision should have assumed a character in consonance with that fact. The three years elapsing between the first and second copyright of these editions have been full of importance to the whole of Hispanic America. Mere additions here and there, no matter how important, will not suffice. The addition of two new maps and a graph are to be highly commended. But why stop with just two maps? Why not a map showing movements of settlements in each of the republics? Another, on routes of transportation and communication? And yet another on density of population? Still others that the reviewer does not mention would be useful. Why not a graph showing movements of population, especially immigration? Another on production of staple products? Still another on illiteracy? And many more. Pictorial aids of this nature would be extremely useful. Why not add a couple hundred or more pages to a text of this kind? A one volume work purporting to cover, as this one does, the whole field of Hispanic American history might well have even a thousand pages provided the paper is not too heavy. Why not use India paper? One misses, too, in this revised edition, any mention of Manning's monumental work, Priestley's *José de Gálvez*, MacNutt's *Letters of Cortés*, A. Alvarez, on the *Monroe Doctrine*, certain of the Hakluyt Society Publications that one could profitably utilize, and other books which will occur to those who use this volume. The reviewer believes also that an undue amount of space has been given in the revised edition to the commercial phase of the subject.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

*The Rosalie Evans Letters from Mexico.* Arranged with Comment by DAISY CADEN PETTUS. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926. Pp. 472.)

In 1896, Rosalie Caden went to Puebla, Mexico, to live with her father. There she met Harry Evans, whom she married in 1898. In 1904, Mr. Evans retired from banking and bought San Pedro Coxtocán, a neglected old Spanish estate near San Martín, jurisdiction of Huejotzingo, state of Puebla. Prior to 1910 the hacienda was improved with an irrigation system, increased in size, and made profitable. At the end of the Díaz régime it was damaged by bandits to the extent of about one hundred and ninety thousand pesos, the claim for which apparently remains unpaid. The Evanses lived in Mexico City until 1913, never visiting the hacienda during that period. When Madero was murdered they went out of the country with the refugees. In 1917, his resources being exhausted, Mr. Evans returned to Mexico to look after his property, but died in November. Mrs. Evans went to Mexico in January, 1918, to regain the property, which had been in the hands of revolutionists.

Mrs. Pettus, sister of Mrs. Evans and compiler of the letters, gives in a Foreword a general account of the agrarian phase of the Mexican revolution; this account, inasmuch as it occupied but two pages, is not at all adequate for the information of the general reader, though it could have been easily made so by use of very little more space. There is a resulting confusion as to the official phases of the celebrated case which is not effectually removed by the comments interpolated throughout the letters by the compiler. The impression is created that both these ladies felt that the only legal points which mattered were those of the laws under which the property was acquired, and that the activities of their opponents were in all cases lawless or based on invocation of laws which were invalid. It is thus evident that the book is an *ex parte* statement, and that the historical student will have to reinforce his reading of it by information from other sources before he can make certain of all the issues involved.

When Mrs. Evans began her fight, in March, 1918, she had to obtain delays for payment of taxes, and carry on resistance to orders distributing her hacienda as a free gift to the Indians. From that time until her murder in 1924 her life was a constant struggle to

retain the land, the water, and the crops. From close reading the historical student will gather that she was successful during the Carranza régime, though often harassed by enemies at odds with each other, because the hacienda lay in territory over which Carranza desired to obtain the political control, which was disputed by the Zapatistas. When Obregón succeeded Carranza he at first promised protection, and Mrs. Evans traveled abroad. From May 27, 1921, to December 17, 1922, there are no letters; it was during this period that Obregón made the most effective advances in his agrarian program. In January, 1923, Mrs. Evans found that he had issued orders for grants to adjacent villagers, apparently of the whole property, though this is not clear. Against these and later orders every possible kind of resistance was invoked; visits to Obregón, *amparo* proceedings, appeals to the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States; newspaper propaganda; a social campaign; and the most vigorous personal activity in every direction, including actual supervision of plowing, planting, reaping, threshing, and marketing of crops. Much of this was done in the face of great physical danger from irate agrarians, and had the effect of arousing the deep resentment of the Mexican government. It was a woman's campaign, conducted with all the resources of a woman's wit; most of its successes were due to her audacity and the immunity from harm which her sex for a time gave her.

The entire estate was never expropriated, but parts, including the irrigation system, were; the right of the owner to the remainder is recognized, and Federal soldiers have for many months been posted on the place, sometimes serving to protect the property from agrarians, but often with orders not to go beyond protection of Mrs. Evans so long as she refrained from active resistance to the agrarian program. This of course she never did; the trend of her campaign led inevitably to her assassination, which occurred on August 2, 1924. Her rights have passed by inheritance to Mrs. Pettus, an American citizen, who has paid the inheritance tax; soldiers were still on guard in June, 1926, and agrarians were still offering hostilities. No indemnification has been paid.

The diplomatic phases of the controversy show that every recourse was exhausted—short of embarking on proceedings which would have led to conditions of war—by Great Britain; Mr. Cummins was so active in support of Mrs. Evans that his recall was urgently requested

by Obregón many times before it occurred, and British relations were stopped for a time as a part of the incident. Mrs. Evans also attempted to use the American State Department, but found scant satisfaction in that quarter; Charles Beecher Warren persisted in his program of recognition of Obregón in spite of her efforts, and the American "colony" in Mexico City was on the whole lukewarm, though she had many supporters among citizens of the United States.

The historical student has no right to complain that the book is not an impartial statement of the facts in the case. It is, indeed, a frank propaganda for the intervention of American public opinion to induce the government of this country to insist upon enforcement of American rights in Mexico, including those of the compiler. Inasmuch as there has been no visible realization of this purpose, the reader is interested to discover the causes of the failure. Efforts by other persons and organizations to induce the American government to withdraw recognition because of the general unsatisfactory conditions under which American properties labor in Mexico have also been fruitless. Some Americans in Mexico think that the reluctance of this country to embark on such a policy is due to the expenditure of vast sums for propaganda here by Mexico; others feel that there is a determination to keep the Mexican issue quiet as long as we have biennial elections pending. It is of course obvious that millions of pesos are not being expended in this country every month for Mexican propaganda, or if they are they are not producing results; it is also plain that no vital issue can be indefinitely postponed for political considerations.

The fact is that the American government apparently regards the Mexican problem as one in which misstep might lead to consequences far more serious than those which now prevail. By the American people it is recognized that the social revolution in Mexico has its counterpart in nearly a dozen countries around the tropical belt, and that the expansionist nations of the world have not been making conspicuously successful headway against the storm of resistance which the exploitative colonial system of four hundred years has brought into the world. Every one knows that government in Mexico has its farcical aspects; that democracy does not exist; that property rights are dubious; that politicians and militarists are brutal and inconsequential in their procedure; that there has been too much of dishonesty and selfishness; that the agrarian program attempts to endow Indians with lands while they are without the capacity or

means to utilize them; that foreigners are counted out of the program of social and economic readjustment.

But were the arm of diplomacy or military force extended to the correction of such evils the sovereignty of Mexico would be invaded, the sympathy of Hispanic America invoked against us, and we should pay in blood and lives for the creation of an impossible situation, from which we could withdraw as gracefully as the British can get out of Egypt or the French from North Africa. With the alternatives in view, the present situation is better. It means that Americans in Mexico will have to depend upon the welcome which they evoke from that country rather than upon the armed forces of the United States to protect them.

Reading the book, one finds the record of a person who saw none of these things. No one can miss the daring, fortitude, and pertinacity of Mrs. Evans, or her implicit faith in the justice of her fight. She was not at all insincere, though she indulged in heroics and felt the lure of gold. The Mexicans thought that she was unbalanced; it is undoubtedly true that the foreigner in Mexico falls quickly under the strain of tropical existence at high altitudes, of political unrest, economic uncertainty, and the habitual hazards to health. Mrs. Evans' reactions to these influences is by no means unique. She recognized them all, she knew that she was taking very great chances and could hardly escape the fate which befell her, but she preferred it, and had moments of great exaltation in her battle. She could have had a small amount of money or bonds from the Mexican government for her property, but she scorned to accept less than its market value, and she refused to save her life by going away. But it should be pointed out that she was not, as her sister says, merely fighting for her rights under Mexican law; she was, as she said herself in the book, fighting against the agrarian laws, and called herself an outlaw of the greenwood. What she was fighting for was her rights under the laws of Porfirio Díaz. In that battle she was following an irresistible impulse, and she could not see that in spite of the wickednesses and incompetencies of the agrarian movement it has the ultimate social verities on its side. She was a champion of a day that is passing. For the courage she showed she deserves unstinted admiration; for her incapacity to see the proportions and bearings of the struggle she deserves no condemnation, for, to use her own words, she "never saw a fight, but was always in it".

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

*Hispanic-American History: a Syllabus.* By WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR., Professor of History and Government in the University of North Carolina. Revised and enlarged. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926. Pp. [vi], 169. \$1.50.)

The study of Hispanic American history is gradually coming into its own in the United States. With the appearance of this syllabus (revised and enlarged according to the title page, but in reality an almost entirely new book, and the best publication of this nature yet issued), the student has one more tool at his disposal. The days of pioneer study for the Hispanic region in America are over—have been over for some time—and the present-day crops of college men and women are now enjoying the fruits of the labors of the pioneers. It may be thought a misnomer to call so young a man as Dr. Pierson a “pioneer”, but such he is, for so young is still the well regulated study of the history of Hispanic America, that he harks back to the period when helpful tools were very scarce.

The introduction to the syllabus should by all means be read for it is an interesting and valuable essay. From it, one learns that Dr. Pierson has emphasized throughout “the institutional, social, intellectual, and economic aspects” of the Hispanic American colonies and states, and an examination of the volume bears out this assertion. Accordingly, one finds in the ten sections of the volume that comparatively little space has been given to the European background and the period of discovery and settlement (9 and 4 pages respectively), and to the period of the first enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine (4 pages), all subjects that have received great emphasis from many writers. To the “Spanish colonial system”, however, 21 pages are devoted; to “Settlement of Brazil and Portuguese colonial institutions”, 3 pages; to “The struggle for independence”, 18 pages; to “Political theories and early republican institutions”, 3 pages; to “Political history, 1826-1926”, 51 pages; to “International relations”, 24 pages; and to “Contemporary history, problems, and achievements of Hispanic-America”, 13 pages. The historical-political aspects of the Monroe Doctrine are considered under the chapter on international relations, pp. 135-140—their logical place.

Each section presents one or more analytical outlines with required and additional readings, which of course may be followed in whole or

in part by teachers making use of this work. Probably most teachers will prefer to make some slight alterations at times as to readings and outline, but that is to be expected and the book is sufficiently elastic to permit of such use. While professing not to be a bibliography, the bibliographical features of the work form one of its most valuable parts. Dr. Pierson has wisely indicated readings from books in English as extensively as possible, together with the readings from the best Spanish and other foreign-language sources. It will naturally be the duty of teachers to indicate such books as have been written in a biased spirit, and this must especially be done with regard to Mexico since 1910.

In a hurried survey it might be possible to cover the whole field in a year's course, but if two years can be devoted to this study, the student will receive a much better grounding. The reviewer would like to have seen a chapter on the archaeology of the Hispanic region inserted at the beginning of the book, but this subject will doubtless receive consideration in the matter of the first chapter. The ends of short pages and all blank pages have been designated as places for notes, and will prove useful in adding new titles as they appear. The second half title preceding the introduction is unnecessary. This volume should have a wide use.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*The City of the Sacred Well.* By T. A. WILLARD. (New York and London: The Century Co., [c 1926]. Pp. xvi, 293.)

The sub title explains this volume excellently. It is "a narrative of the discoveries and excavations of Edward Herbert Thompson in the Ancient city of Chi-chen Itza with some discourse on the culture and development of the Mayan civilization as revealed by their art and architecture here set down and illustrated from photographs." The work is in large part a tribute to the remarkable man named above, the first consul for the United States in Yucatan, but far more than this, the man who by his enthusiasm, painstaking and patient labors, and untiring investigation, not only made many discoveries of prime importance in the old buried cities of Yucatan, but was able to recreate an interest in archaeological study in that region that has led to the sending thither by the Carnegie Institution of an archaeological expedition which will doubtless greatly extend our knowledge

of the old Mayan civilization. The author, who perhaps knows Mr. Thompson more intimately than any other person, and who has moreover done considerable archæological work himself, gained permission from "Don Eduardo" himself to write "from memory and from his notes and my own, this book, which he has read and corrected". The result is a readable, interesting, and valuable book, written in a popular manner without technical details such as specialists delight in, from which the layman can gather a fairly accurate account of the meaning of archæological investigation in Yucatan. It is a book which one dislikes to lay aside until he has finished its reading. In strict parlance the book is not a unity, for the author wanders quite freely from direct quotation of Mr. Thompson, and analysis of his talk or notes, to his own observations, and inserts old legends of the Mayas at will, but this does not detract from the interest and value of the text. The illustrations really illustrate and help out the text.

Undoubtedly the two greatest services rendered by "Don Eduardo"—the name given Mr. Thompson by the modern Mayas—aside from the general stimulus to archæological study, were the proof by dredging and diving that the well in Chi-chen Itza was really the old well of sacrifice, wherein the old Mayas made sacrifice of their most tender maidens to the rain god and into which they threw their most sacred possessions; and the discovery of the five graves superimposed one above the other, with a deep pit beneath the lowest in which was found another burial which Don Eduardo surmises (without dogmatism) may have been that of the great exponent of the serpent worship of the Mayas, Kukul Can.

The volume is not written in a dogmatic vein. The facts that "Don Eduardo" established are brought out, and his discoveries are related, but the author acknowledges fully that the old hieroglyphics of the Mayas have not yet been deciphered sufficiently for us to understand the writings on the old monuments, and that the mystery of these ancient people still baffles. He speaks with certainty of the date stones, and the assigning of set dates, but all scholars will not agree with this. Whatever be one's belief on moot questions of the archæology of America, he must agree that the American continent offers an opportunity for archæological study that in interest, although perhaps not in value, is not behind that of other regions. If the con-

nexion of Mayan culture with old-world culture can be definitely established by the expedition now in Yucatan, a great advance will have been made. The work of that expedition must be built largely on the pioneer work of the lovable "Don Eduardo".

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla.* Por D. PEDRO TORRES Y LANZAS. Tomo I (1493-1572). Precedido de una erudita *Historia General de Filipinas desde los primeros Descubrimientos de Portugueses y Castellanos en Oriente, Occidente y Mediodía, hasta la Muerte de Legazpi.* Por el P. PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1925. Pp. ccciv, 209. Frontispiece. 30 pesetas).

This volume was published by the Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, whose headquarters are at Barcelona, and which has long been interested in the history of the Philippine Islands, "as a testimony of regard for the Archipelago of Magellan". A colophon tells us that it was printed in Barcelona by the Viuda de Luis Tasso, the work being completed on December 30 of the "holy year" 1925. The edition consists of 500 numbered copies printed on "papel de hilo" and 200 copies printed on "papel pluma", but the latter have not been placed on sale. Like the five volumes of the uncompleted series published by the same company; namely, "*Colección General de Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas*", the present volume is all that one could desire in respect to its mechanical appearance, workmanship, and materials.

In fact, the present series, of which this is the first volume, is the old series transformed, as we are told by Father Pastells in his "*Razón de esta obra*". It was deemed advisable to make the change, since it would take at least twenty-five years (and the reviewer believes this estimate a conservative one) to publish all the Philippine documents in Seville. The five volumes of the first series, ending with the year 1529, may be considered as a memorial to the voyage and discoveries of Magellan; and were, indeed, undertaken about the time of the celebration of the quattro-centenary of his voyage. It is now

believed that the history and lists of documents will answer all practical purposes. Students will reluctantly agree with this statement, for while the Blair and Robertson series on the Philippines presents a great many of the documents pertaining to the Philippines, it does not pretend to present them all or even a tenth of them all. Further volumes will proceed along the same lines as this volume, with history and list of titles in juxtaposition.

In this first instalment of his history the venerable Father Pastells, who has long been a familiar figure to investigators visiting the archives at Seville, brings the story of the Philippines up to the death of Miguel López de Legazpi, the first successful conquistador of the Philippines and the founder of the Spanish settlement at Manila. The narrative is one rather for the use of historians than for a wide reading public. There is a rich background of Spanish and Portuguese activities in the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth, which will be found of much use. The voyages of Magellan, Loaisa, Saavedra, Villalobos, and Legazpi are given in detail with reference at times to documents some of which will be found in the five volumes of the old series and all of which are listed in the *Catálogo* of Torres Lanzas. Chapter IV, which deals with some of the Spanish colonial institutions and gives considerable useful information relative to the archives at Seville and Simancas, will be welcomed. It would seem that perhaps chapters XIV and XV, which deal with Loyola and St. Francis Xavier, might have been condensed into one chapter. It will be natural for Father Pastells to dwell at length on the achievements of the Society of Jesuits in the Philippines and Maluccas Islands; but it is hoped that he will not neglect the part played by the other orders. It is hoped also that he will give to each element in the history of the Philippines its due share—a by no means easy task. No one is better equipped than he to write a history of this region, so far as its Spanish connections are concerned, for he has spent many years in its study, both in the Philippines and in Spain. It is hoped, too, that he will attempt a critical interpretation of Spanish domination in the Philippines.

In his *Catálogo*, the genial Torres Lanzas, who has but recently been retired as Director of the Archivo de Indias after many years service, lists 1809 separate documents, giving to each one its location. Some of these have been published in Blair and Robertson, but many

have never been published in any place. If, as seems to be the present plan, all the documents treating in any way of the Philippine Islands are listed in the course of this work, the student will find his labors much shortened, for it will be easy to order copies of the documents desired without the necessity of making an expensive trip to Spain.

The advent of future volumes will be watched with interest.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### THE BOLIVARIAN CONGRESS OF PANAMA

[How do South Americans view the recent Congress of Panama? This question can be answered for one—the eminent Colombian historian, Dr. Eduardo Posada, a member of the Colombian delegation to the congress. The following interesting summary—an interview granted to a reporter by Dr. Posada—is translated from the Barranquilla *Diario del Comercio*, one of the most important papers in Colombia. Its editor-in-chief, Sr. Abel Carbonell, was a delegate to the recent Journalistic Congress held in Washington.—Ed.]

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The congress was very well attended; for, in addition to the delegates of the American governments, representatives of institutes and academies were present. In the preliminary session, Sr. Octavio Méndez Pereira, the secretary of public instruction, who had been the promoter and organizer of the congress, was chosen president. In Panama, as in the United States, members of the cabinet do not have the title of minister but that of secretary. It was resolved also that the heads of each delegation should be the vice-presidents. As secretary, the appointment made by the government of Sr. Julio Guardia (who lived here in residence some time ago as chargé d'affaires for Panama) was confirmed *viva voce*. In these congresses election is not by ballot. For the despatch of business, the congress was divided into five sections or committees—of one of which, the second, I had the honor to be chosen president.

On the second day was held the inaugural session which took place in the national theater. The president of the republic made a speech at this session, in which he declared that the labors were opened. Next the head of each delegation said a few words, and as each one finished his remarks the national hymn of his country was played. The United States minister spoke in English and the Haitian delegate in French. It was, therefore, as I said in Cali, the apotheosis of Bolívar in three languages. Sr. De la Vega spoke eloquently in the name of

the Colombian delegation, and was accorded a warm welcome. None of the addresses lasted more than ten minutes. The other sessions [of the congress], five in all, were held in the National Institute, which is a magnificent building.

There was also a memorial meeting in the place where the Congress of 1826 was inaugurated. Several addresses were given on that occasion, among them a very charming one by the Colombian, Sr. Robledo, which was applauded enthusiastically.<sup>1</sup>

"What matters were debated in the five sessions [of the congress]," [asked the reporter].

Properly speaking there were no debates. In these international congresses, the principal work is done by committees which present the respective conclusions. The conclusions [at this congress] were accepted almost without exception. There was no discussion as in parliamentary bodies, only short remarks. The greatest harmony reigned throughout.

This congress was held in commemoration of that held a century ago. As a consequence, it was principally in glorification of the initiator [of the Congress of 1826], Bolívar, and those attending [that congress], and an attempt of *approchement* and unity among the American nations. It was agreed that it should be a memorial congress and delicate political questions were avoided.

While in Cali I had the pleasure of giving to a reporter a somewhat long report of the work of the congress, which your paper may reproduce when that paper reaches this city, so that I need not now repeat those details. I am also busy writing my report for the minister of foreign relations, of all of which I shall give you a copy, except for anything that must be kept in reserve. I shall, however, briefly mention here the principal resolutions:

Resolutions were drawn up for confederation, coöperation, and solidarity of all the peoples of the continent and for the wiping out of all differences that may still exist among them.

It was recommended that it be adopted as a principle that any act against an American nation, involving a violation of the precepts of

<sup>1</sup> Formerly minister of finance in Colombia; and a well known *literatus* of his country. Sometime ago there was conferred on him the honor of Commander of Isabel the Catholic in recognition of his beautifully written *Una lengua y una raza*. Dr. Robledo is at present residing in Washington, D. C., for the purpose of studying social problems.

international law, constitute a cause of offense to all, and provoke uniform action.

The intensification of the intellectual and civic education of the Indians was petitioned.

It was resolved to celebrate splendidly the centenary of the death of the Liberator, and that at the same time the country house of San Pedro Alejandrino should be converted into a sanctuary of the liberty of America.

A vote of thanks was given to the Pan American Union and a salute to the Society of Americanists of Paris.

There was initiated the erection of a monument to Henry Clay, who favored our independence.

The memory of Alejandro Peti n, protector of the liberating expedition, was commended to the affection and gratitude of America.

It was agreed that the congress should reassemble in Caracas in 1930 and should give an impulse to the formation of Bol var societies in all the countries of the new world.

The project for founding the Bol var University was approved and the bases therefor were adopted.

The advisability of forming a League of Nations of America was recognized.

The idea of making a compilation on Bol var of all the documents that may show the multiple and complex personality of the Liberator was commended.

Heavy, indeed, was the labor with regard to the above mentioned proposition of commemoration and fraternity.

The committee of the fourth section, to which were presented matters relating to public education, and of which I was also a member, presented several conclusions touching this matter, which were accepted, including the publication of translations selected from the best publications of America, especially of historical texts, for publication in a series, the *rapprochement* of the teaching profession of the two Americas, and the desire that biological, ethnological, anthropological, and historical studies of the new world be the object of more complete investigations. Of that committee, the delegates of the universities of the United States and of Lima, of the Carnegie Institution, and of the teaching profession of Panama were members.

Your impressions of Panama?

They are very good. Government and society looked after their guests elegantly and luxuriously. The city of Panama has splendid municipal services, including the pavement of streets, water system, hospitals, etc. And among other things, transportation and public instruction have had a powerful impulse throughout the republic. The people are very cordial to Colombians and regard them with a special affection.

Among the Colombian delegates there was complete harmony, and the worthy secretary of legation, Sr. Eduardo Rueda, lent us fitting services.

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The Instituto Archeológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano, founded, according to the inaugural address of its first president, "to investigate the unknown facts of history, collect scattered traditions and purify them in the crucible of well seasoned criticism, search neglected documents, discover documents which possess historical significance—in a word to commemorate whatever has given or can give renown and glory to the country", was established in Recife, January 28, 1862, being next to the Instituto Histórico Brasileiro of the federal capital, the oldest historical institution in Brazil. Its principal founders were Dr. Joaquim Pires Machado Portella, Dr. José Soares de Azevedo, Dr. Antonio Vitruvio Pinto de Accioli e Vasconcellos, Dr. Salvador Henriques de Albuquerque, and Dr. Antonio Rangel Torres Bandeira, large-sized portraits of whom hang in the hall of honor of the Instituto, in a special place in its art gallery. The Instituto is dedicated to the study of archeology, ethnography, geology, and geography in all their branches, especially in whatever relates to Pernambuco. Its active membership is limited to fifty, but there are other classes of members, including corresponding members, honorary members, benefactors, and well-deserving members. The Instituto possesses a large numismatic collection, a splendid collection of manuscripts, a large library, an art gallery containing portraits of famous Brazilians and foreigners connected with the history of Pernambuco, a map division, and an historical museum. Since 1863, it has published the *Revista do Instituto Archeológico*, and its archeological collection, is considered by students the greatest repository of works for the study of the national history of Brazil and the richest source for documents after the Instituto Histórico Brasileiro. Although not

dependent in any way on the government, the latter has built it a large building for its headquarters; its review is published by the official press; it receives a subvention from the government; and the federal congress, by a law of 1919, recognized it as an association of public utility, on account of which it enjoys the postal frank for its correspondence. In the opinion of Dr. Oliveira Lima, the Instituto is the most representative association of the culture of Pernambuco. In the same building which houses the Instituto and connected therewith because of their type, are the Instituto de Sciencias e Letras de Pernambuco and the Academia Pernambucana de Letras. The present president of the Instituto, who is elected annually, is Dr. Pedro Celso Uchôa Cavalcanti; and its permanent secretary is Dr. Mário Melo, the latter of whom is also director of the Review mentioned above.—MARIO MELO.

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Dr. J. Lloyd Meacham, formerly of Washington University, has accepted a position in the University of Texas, in the Department of Government, with the rank of associate professor. In his new work he will conduct courses in diplomacy and the government of Hispanic America; and for the latter especially he will have at his command the incomparably rich García collection. During the past year he was on leave from Washington University and conducted courses in the University of Texas in the place of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, who lectured at Harvard during the year.

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Miss Margaretta M. Martin, who is taking her doctorate in the University of Pittsburgh, is at present in the City of Mexico working on her thesis, "The Introduction and Progress of Protestantism in Mexico".

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Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, who attended the Congress of Panama as a delegate for the above mentioned University, spoke over the University Radio Studio on the first Congress of Panama. His talk was published in the official publication of the University of Pittsburgh Summer Session, *The Pitt Summer News*, in its issues of July 22 and July 29.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### THE NEED FOR COÖPERATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

Señor Don Carlos Silva Cruz, the eminent director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Chile, in a highly interesting and valuable paper read before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, proposed the formation, among the various countries of the Americas, of a Pan-American Bibliographical Association. After setting forth in cogent terms the necessity for, and the advantages of, bibliographical coöperation among the countries of the Western Hemisphere, the erudite author proposed that the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress "recommend to the governments of the countries represented in it, the creation of a Pan-American Bibliographical Union", the constituent members of which should be the National Libraries of the several countries. The plan sponsored a Central Bureau of Pan-American Bibliographical Information in each National Library.

The plan as outlined provided not only for the interchange of bibliographical information, but as well for the actual interchange of government documents and the finding of a market in each country for the books published in all the other countries. Silva Cruz, with clear and sound reasoning, and in forceful language, demonstrated the necessity for bibliographical coöperation. Too long, he asserted, had each American country (he refers here especially to the Hispanic countries) looked toward Europe for all its inspiration and knowledge—and he proved this with regard to Chile by reference to the books used in the National Library of Chile—and ignored in great part the literary output (using this term in its broadest connotation) of the other American countries. Chile was ignorant in great part, said he, of literary movements and of the literary output of its near neighbor, Argentina. In like manner, each country in Hispanic America knew too little of the intellectual activities of its fellow republics. There was dearth of information, too, he said, of publications in the United States of North America, among Hispanic countries, while the citizens of the northern republic were often surprised to learn—if they ever

<sup>1</sup> Paper written on request for the Panama Centennial Congress in June, 1926.

do learn it—that Hispanic American countries have a rich literature of their own.

"Let us," he says, "put ourselves, for the moment, in the case of the *investigator*. How many difficulties, how many troubles has he to go through to find out what has been published in his own and other countries of the continent on the subject of his researches!" And he concludes, that "The situation requires a quick and active remedy, if we sincerely desire to form a *Pan American spirit and sentiment*."

Applying his suggestion, the clear-headed director then proposed that each National Library should supply monthly bibliographies of their respective countries, which should include:

"1. A complete review of all the books and pamphlets published during the month including the index and other information necessary to form a general idea of their contents and importance.

"2. The summaries of the reviews published during the same period, also with the indispensable notes.

"3. A list of such articles as are of permanent value or of Pan-American importance, published in the periodicals; and

"4. A review of the new music published or performed, of the dramatic productions brought out, and the principal works of art exhibited."

These were excellent, pertinent, and far-reaching suggestions. It is a pity that they, or modifications of them, have not been put into operation in Hispanic America. Had they been tried out, we should at least have known by this time whether the idea of a Bibliographical Union were workable. One can imagine that perhaps the work which would be thrust upon the National Libraries of the several countries, were the plan put into execution, might prove too onerous and costly and only able of accomplishment by making large additions to the staffs of the various institutions and increasing the budget sufficiently to carry the cost.

Now, if the Pan-American movement has anything of vitality in it, and I believe it has, that movement should include a conscious effort for an interchange of information relative to the intellectual activity and output of each country in the Americas. Just as students in the United States of North America should have easy access to complete data of this character for each country in the Americas, so should students in each Hispanic American country have access to the same data. Because we do not have it, we are hampered in our

attempts to get together, and the students of each country waste an immense amount of time in looking for data and compiling bibliographies that should be collected and held in various centers. The National Libraries, as Silva Cruz suggests, would be excellent centers for the conservation of such materials.

There is, however, one institution which, perhaps, we have all hoped, would undertake this work. It is, moreover, an institution which appears fitted, from its very composition, to perform service of this nature. I refer, of course, to the Pan American Union. It is well known that that excellent institution—created jointly by the various countries of the Americas—has very probably the best Hispanic-American library in existence. Its librarian is sincerely devoted to his work and anxious to make the rich collection under his care of the utmost service to whomever wishes to use it. Why should not then, the Pan American Union become, in very truth, the clearing house for the spread of bibliographical information pertaining to Hispanic America? In order that such service might be properly performed, it is essential that each Hispanic American government assure itself that a copy of each public document issued by it is deposited in the Library of the Pan American Union as soon as it comes off press. Not only this, but it should be the patriotic duty of each country to cause a copy of each book and pamphlet published within its borders, as well a copy of each magazine and review and of the most important newspapers, to be deposited in the above mentioned library. There is a distinct practical advertising value in having all this material in one central location which both governments and publishers will readily understand, especially in view of the use which it is proposed should be made of it. This I will explain immediately.

With all these publications on its shelves—the product both of the government presses and those of private publishers—the Library of the Pan American Union, if given a sufficient staff and a sufficient budget (for neither is now adequate for this work) could compile monthly lists of the publications that have been issued in each country of Hispanic America, cause the same to be printed, and a certain number of the lists to be sent to the National Libraries of each country or to other government institutions entitled to receive them. In addition to free deposits, a certain number would undoubtedly find

ready sale in each country of Hispanic America, as well as in the United States of North America, and thus the cost of compilation would be in a measure met, although probably not altogether so. This is a service that must be paid for in large part by the governments of the countries belonging to the Pan American Union. Any sales would reduce the cost to the various countries.

Now how should these lists be made? Very simply. I think that the publications of each country should be given under the name of that country and so that there might be no choice of priority a strict alphabetical arrangement of the several countries should be followed—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and so on. First all government publications should be listed under the Bureau or other entity responsible for them. Secondly the books issued by private publishers should be listed; and lastly magazines, reviews, and newspapers if it be deemed best to include these. The title should be given entire, including place, publisher, and date. It is also essential that the price be mentioned. When the title does not convey a sufficient idea of the contents of the book a note should be added explaining this briefly but clearly. No other technique is necessary except the size of the book in centimeters or millimeters and the number of pages, and whether there are illustrations or maps. If it were desired, the editors might add the classification numbers given by the Library of the Pan American Union, although this is not necessary, and perhaps not feasible because all books might not be catalogued at the time the lists are compiled.

This would be bibliographical coöperation of the highest kind, and very far-reaching in its practical results. It would mean that government officials, students, professional men, technical men, business men, and many others would have within reach a tool for which there has long been a crying need. It would mean the greater dissemination of the printed output of each country. It would mean also considerable elimination of wasted effort and blind or nearly blind research. More than all else, perhaps, it would mean a rapprochement on the cultural side of each Hispanic American country to its neighbors. Measured by its utility, this is not a small result.

The plan outlined very roughly in the above paragraphs makes little mention of the United States of North America except as a gainer from this coöperative scheme. There has been a reason for this. In the first place, the Pan American Union is not equipped in

its library to list the publications of the Northern Republic unless it should be those that treat of Hispanic America. Secondly, this information is already available for the United States, for there are certain agencies that are performing this service. What are those agencies? I shall make brief mention of some of them. Doubtless many Hispanic American scholars and workers are already making full use of some or all of them. In citing these several media, I must disclaim all advertising intention, my sole motive being the desire to illustrate what has been said above and that of being of some service.

One of the most useful tools to the person who wishes to keep informed of what is being published currently in the United States of North America is the weekly periodical issued by the R. R. Bowker Company under the name of *The Publishers' Weekly*. This organ lists in each issue the books which came into the markets of the United States from the presses of that country during the preceding week. A second useful tool which partakes of the same qualities as the preceding, but which is not published so often, is the *Catalogue of Copyright Entries* which is issued by the Copyright Division of the Library of Congress and printed in Washington by the Government Printing Office. A third tool is the *Cumulative Book Index* which is issued monthly in cumulative form by the H. W. Wilson Company. This is arranged in a single catalogue by author, title, and subject, and endeavors to list all the books published in the United States. The same company publishes also in cumulative form a number of organs which list and analyse the best periodical literature published in the United States and some foreign periodicals. These include: 1. *The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* in which well over a hundred of the most important periodicals of the United States are listed analytically. 2. *The International Index to Periodicals* (formerly *The Readers' Guide Supplement*), devoted chiefly to the humanities and science and listing over 300 periodicals of the United States and other countries. 3. *The Agricultural Index*, in which is given a list of agricultural articles appearing in periodicals of the United States and other countries, as well as of books and bulletins dealing with agriculture. 4. *The Industrial Arts Index*, comprising a selected list of engineering, trade, and business periodicals, books, and pamphlets, and giving a list of the most important technical societies. As this is written the same company is contemplating the inauguration of an index covering the whole field of education.

The *Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service*, published by the New York Public Affairs Information Service—an association of public, university, and special libraries, having as its sole object the publication of a current bibliography of selected material in English relating to economics, social, and political affairs—analyzes some hundreds of periodicals. This index is most useful to sociological workers. The *Quarterly Cumulative Index to Current Medical Literature*, edited by the staff of the American Medical Association in Chicago covers the field of medicine in the United States and other countries.

For books in the field of history, there is the annual volume entitled *Writings on American History*, which is compiled by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin and published under the auspices of the American Historical Association. Perhaps a word should be said here of special magazines and reviews published in the United States of North America. These are legion and cover in their totality pretty much the field of human knowledge. Most of them carry reviews by competent persons of books dealing with the special field represented. It will be sufficient to mention only several of these. The *American Historical Review*, published under the auspices of the American Historical Association, occupies an unique position among historical periodicals, both on account of the high tone of its subject matter and the excellence of its editing. Its editor in chief, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, dean of historical workers in the United States of North America, and Director of the Historical Research Department of Carnegie Institution of Washington, is one of the foremost editors of the world, and has, besides, rendered first hand aid to more historical students than any other one man of the present day. This quarterly review publishes extensive reviews of many books and lesser notices of many others. The *American Political Science Review* is the organ of another great organization, namely, the American Political Science Association. This periodical likewise carries quarterly many valuable reviews and in addition a bibliographical list of books and articles touching its field and published in every part of the world. In 1918 was founded a periodical called THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, the title of which is self explanatory. This ran for five years when it was forced to suspend publication for lack of funds. However, it is now possible to state that this quarterly review, which covers a field not occupied by any other periodical, will resume publi-

cation in August of this year under the auspices of Duke University of Durham, North Carolina. Its old organization has been retained with the addition of a permanent member on its editorial staff from Duke University, and the present writer who has from the beginning held the position of managing editor will retain that post. From the inception of the REVIEW, one of its outstanding features has been the bibliographical section, in which were published many bibliographical articles, bibliographical notes, and bibliographical lists of books and articles, all dealing with Hispanic America (wherever published), inclusive of the Philippine Islands and those parts of the United States which were once Spanish territory (but only in their Hispanic relations). Here were published, for instance, several installments on "Hispanic American Bibliographies", by C. K. Jones of the Library of Congress. All these features will be resumed in August, and in every respect, in fact, the bibliographical policy of the REVIEW will be maintained.

I have mentioned these periodicals, which are typical of many, because they illustrate one phase of what I have just been discussing, namely, that the field as to bibliography (using the term in no technical sense in this instance) is fairly well covered in respect to the publications of the United States of North America. It is easy for the student or casual reader to ascertain what has been published in the United States along any line of human activity. Hence, the United States may safely be disregarded in any extensive plan among the countries belonging to the Pan American Union looking toward the publication of bibliographical lists so far as its own publications are concerned. One important exception should be made to this statement, however, for all materials published in the United States and touching in any way upon Hispanic America should be listed and made available for all the countries of the Pan American Union.

Now, as a citizen of the Anglo-Saxon republic, who is interested in the history and government of Hispanic America—and I am only one of a large and increasing class—I am personally anxious to know what is being published along these and cognate lines. Moreover, as managing editor of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, I am responsible for ascertaining what Hispanic America is thinking, writing, and publishing about its history, and its political, economic, literary and social activities. It is part of my business, too, to see that all

important historical works on Hispanic America are reviewed in the above mentioned periodical and that bibliographical lists of books and articles published in Hispanic America are issued every quarter. To gather data for such use, I must examine many catalogues, lists, and periodicals of Hispanic America; and when all this has been done, I am sure of only one thing, namely, that I have succeeded in finding only a portion of the publications. How much my work would be lightened and how much more thoroughly it would be performed if I had an opportunity to use monthly lists compiled by the united effort of all Hispanic American countries.

In each country of Hispanic America, I find, of course, certain agencies that aid me in my work. There are many excellent periodicals that carry good reviews of many books and themselves publish many articles of value. But I do not have access to all these periodicals, and even if I did, I could not find time to examine them all. I must content myself, perforce, with a comparatively small number. Even as it is I reap a rich harvest, but I am continually beset by the knowledge of the amount of good material of which I know nothing; and I do not, therefore, offer to the readers of the REVIEW as much as they should have. What a boon a literary clearing house would be for me!

I have not space in a single paper to mention the many periodicals to which I do have access, and it would be invidious to mention one and not all. But no Hispanic American country has a monopoly on excellence in its periodical publications; for I find in the publications of this nature of all Hispanic countries much that is admirable. I cannot be accused of partiality if I express my regret that the great Zeballos, one of the best periodical editors that the Americas have produced has been called to his reward, and that, alas, his periodical has perished with his passing. His was a sound and sane periodical, with judgments well matured and criticisms that stood the test. The sort of work he did in Argentina is being done by other editors in Hispanic America. Moreover, there is a continual output of books and articles in Hispanic America. Indeed, one can not complain of the lack of output. The just complaint is that we can not find it all listed, and of much of it we can not procure a copy after we have heard of it. Again, what a boon to all of us workers in Hispanic American matters had we adequate lists of the literary output of each Hispanic American country, compiled in one common catalogue.

As it is, Hispanic Americans may know what is being published in their respective countries, but they have no way of getting knowledge of the partial output of the other countries beyond the method I follow myself.

Hispanic America has bibliographers today who rank, and deservedly, among the greatest. I have only to mention the name of José Toribio Medina, of Chile, to whom all students of the history of Hispanic America are indebted. We can not go far into the history of the Spanish colonies in America without Medina. Into one life he has crowded the work of three. And, too, there is Carlos Trelles of Cuba. Him we find an excellent guide for things Cuban. Need I mention Estrada of Mexico, Sánchez of Venezuela, or Sacramento Blake of Brazil, or the many bibliographers of other countries, whom if I do not mention by name, it is not because they are not worthy. Their works will live after them.

But I am not especially concerned with these bibliographers just now. I am concerned in knowing what is being published at the present moment in Hispanic America—in all parts of Hispanic America.

There is one little publication in Mexico that I find of unvarying interest, namely, *El Libro y el Pueblo*, which is published by the Secretaría de Educación Pública. This is an organ of service and gives just the kind of information that is needed by Hispanic American workers. A trifle broader scope in this periodical would give us exactly what we need for Mexico. There may be such organs in other Hispanic American countries. I hope so.

And in closing, I come back once more to the necessity of coöperation. I have spoken of the good that might be accomplished by the Pan American Union if the financial side of the matter might be arranged. I dare to make one further suggestion. I have spoken also of the bibliographical features of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. One of its aims is the listing of current material published in Hispanic America or on Hispanic America. This periodical is not managed by a corporation for gain, and it will not, therefore, be indelicate to suggest that it be made a clearing house for the listing of materials published in Hispanic America. If the publishers and others in any way responsible will send their historical publications and the publications pertaining to other fields allied to history to

the REVIEW these will be reviewed in its pages or receive adequate mention. In this way, the REVIEW will offer quarterly to its readers information more voluminous than at present and by so doing will be of greater service to the scholarly and intellectual world. This much we can do. We shall do as much as possible according to the method we have followed hitherto, but with coöperation in Hispanic America, we can do much more.

I close this paper, then, with a plea for greater coöperation. It is all right to make recommendations, and I hope that this Congress will recommend to the various governments that the suggestions I have offered be put into force. But something more is needed, and I hope that the Congress in its recommendation will provide something concrete so that governments may take action. Apparently, if recommendations were made to the various governments in accordance with the request in Silva Cruz's excellent paper which I have quoted so extensively in this paper, nothing has come of it. It is therefore recommended that the Congress request each Hispanic country to appoint a Committee of three, the chairman of which shall be the Librarian or Director of the National Library, whose duties it shall be to consider this matter of coöperation thoroughly; and which shall be empowered to take the necessary action looking toward coöperation with all other Hispanic countries. It is suggested further that the result of the deliberations in each country be sent to each other country and to the Librarian of the Pan American Library in Washington. It does not matter so much how coöperation shall be brought about or what form it shall take so long as it be effective. Can any one doubt the advantages that will accrue to all scholars in each country, to say nothing of the value to statesmen, scientists, and even the general mass of readers if a method be adopted whereby we can ascertain at any moment what is being published in all the countries of Hispanic America? This will be one of the greatest incentives to a real Pan Americanism that we have yet known.

But there is one thing more. I am aware that I am merely following in the steps of Silva Cruz. After much thought, he suggested certain action. Nothing has apparently been done. In the present paper, I present a plan which embodies part of the recommendations of Silva Cruz, and make certain suggestions. In succeeding Congresses we may be followed by others who may make other plans and

make other suggestions. In that case there is danger lest these papers become a mere academic exercise, and beyond that quite futile so far as any concrete good is concerned. Some action is needed. Let us pave the way for that action by a serious discussion and take action before these meetings are dissolved. I make no urgent plea for the strict following of my suggestions. I think they can be made to work. If any one can demonstrate that any modification of the plan I propose or a totally different plan will work better, let us by all means adopt such a plan.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

## MEXICAN BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS OF 1922

Poetical works are as follows: *Campanas de la Tarde*, by Francisco González León (preface by Ramón López Velarde); *Claros de Selva*, by Gregorio López y Fuentes (Editorial América Latina); *La Sombra del Sueño*, by Ignacio Barajas Lozano (preface by Luis G. Urbina); *Rosas de Amor y de Dolor*, by Francisco M. de Olaguíbel (Botas e Hijo); *El Soldado Desconocido*, by Salomón de la Selva (portada de Diego Rivera); *El País de Rubén Darío*, by Juan B. Delgado (Editorial Cromos, Bogotá); *La Mujer de Nieve (Ixtaccíhuatl)*, by Humberto Tejera; *Del Barrio y de la Gleba*, by Aurelio González Carrasco (preface by José F. Elizondo; Imprenta Victoria); *Idilio Trágico* (Adaptación del poema griego del Museo "Hero y Leandro"), by Federico Escobedo (Negociación Impresora de Teziutlán, Puebla); *Remanso de Silencio*, by Joaquín Ramírez Cañas (preface by Genaro Estrada; Editorial América Latina); *Sonetos Satíricos*, by Juan B. Uribe (Imprenta Manuel León Sánchez); *Tenebrarium*, by J. M. Solís; *Tabernarias*, by Hernán Laborde (Imprenta Hispano-Mexicana); *Simplíciter*, by José Esquivel Pren, ediciones "Nosotros" (Imprenta del Comercio); *Cancionero de la Vida Honda y de la Emoción Fugitiva*, by Francisco A. de Icaza (Disociaciones Líricas, Talleres Poligráficos, Madrid); *El Jarro de Flores*, by José Juan Tablada (with illustrations by Adolfo Best Maugard; Escritores Sindicados, Nueva York); and *Haikais*, by Rafael Lozano (J. Povolozky, editeurs, París).

*Bajo el Sol de México* is the name of a book by Leonardo Montalbán, edited by Imprenta Moderna, San José de Costa Rica. It contains the following items: Tierras de Soconuseo, Xochimilco, El Árbol de la Noche Triste, Chapultepec, El Santuario de Guadalupe, Puebla de los Angeles, La Pirámide de Cholula, El Culto de los Héroes, Hernán Cortés, Cuauhtémoc, Paisajes del Camino, Segunda Corrida de Gaona, La Leyenda de los Volcanes, El Valle, La Pirámide del Sol, La Pirámide de la Luna, El Templo de Quetzalcoatl, El Templo de la Agricultura y los Subterráneos, El Estandarte de Moctezuma, Los ídolos mayas, El Teponaxtle de los tlaxcaltecas, Calendario tolteca,

El Anillo de Monseñor, La Emperatriz Carlota, and Léxico. Don José González Moreno, professor of Greek in the Faculty of High Studies, has published a direct translation of the *Antígona* of Sophocles (Dirección de Talleres Gráficos).

The most notable editorial successes of the year were as follows: *Divagaciones Literarias*, second edition, by José Vasconcelos (Editorial América Latina); *Discursos a la Nación Mexicana*, by Antonio Caso (Librería Porrúa); *Saga de Sigrida la Blonda*, by Efrén Rebolledo (Cristianía, Noruega); *La Canción del Halcón y la Canción del Albatros*, by Máximo Gorky, and *Los Doce*, by Alexander Block (Biblioteca Universo, editor Gabino A. Palma, Tome I., No. I.), direct translations from the Russian, with original prefaces by Palma and Salomón Kahan; *La Puerta de Bronce y otros Cuentos*, by Manuel Romero de Terreros y Vinent (Librería y Casa Editorial Fortino Jaime, Guadalajara); *Almaida de Etremont y Manzana de Anís*, by Francis Jammes (translation by Salvador Novo and preface by Xavier Villaurrutia); and *Diálogos* of Plato, edition of the Universidad Nacional, with notes by Eduardo Zeller.

Other literary books are: *El Espíritu Nómade*, by Hugo Sol (Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, editor); *La Ruina de la Casona*, by E. Maqueo Castellanos (Gómez de la Puente, editor); *Relatos de Viaje*, by E. Oria y Santies (about Peru, Chile, and Paraguay); *Al Correr de la Pluma* (articles by J. D. Ramírez Carrido); *Datos y Observaciones sobre los Estados Unidos del Norte*, by Ramón Prida (Botas e Hijo); *Los Favores del Mundo*, by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (edition of P. Henríquez Ureña); *Optica Cerebral. Poemas Dinámicos*, by Nahui Olín (Carmen Mondragón); *Sobre el Ara Sangrienta*, by Querido Moheno (Botas e Hijo); *Atavismo*, by María Ríos Cárdenas (Tipografía "La Bética"); *Reivindicación*, by Héctor Sánchez Azcona (Tipografía de Herrero Hermanos); *De la Vida. Cuentos Crueles*, by Doctor J. M. Puig Casauranc; *El En Si*, by Alfonso Fabila (Talleres Tipográficos de la Escuela Industrial de Artes y Oficios de Toluca, México); *Por el Alma y por el Habla de Castilla*, by Florisel (Ricardo Aleázar; preface by Felipe Sassone; Tipografía "El Día Español"); *La Tragedia de mi Vida*, by María del Pilar Moreno (Compañía Editorial "Phoenix"); *La Novia de Nervo*, by Loreley, (San Antonio de Tejas); *El Provincialismo Tabasqueño*, by J. F. Santamaría (Botas e Hijos); *El Secreto*, novel, by María Enriqueta

(Editorial América, Madrid); *Cuentos*, by Rabindranath Tagore (with preface by José Gorostiza); *La Esperanza y Hati-Ke*, by Alfonso Teja Zabre (Compañía Editorial Latino-Americana); and *Doña Leonor de Cáceres y Acevedo y Cosas Veredes*, by Artemio de Valle-Arizpe (Tipografía Artística, Madrid.)

Following are the important publications in the field of economics, law, and politics: *El Gobierno Constitucional de los Estados Unidos*, by Woodrow Wilson, with translation by Federico González Garza and preface by José Vasconcelos; *El Ministerio Público y la Policía Judicial. Su función y Atribuciones Conforme a la Constitución Federal y la Ley Orgánica del Ministerio Público Vigente en el Estado*, by Enrique Luna Ramón and Miguel Collado (Imprenta del Gobierno del Estado, Chihuahua); *Definiciones de Derecho Público*, by Vincente Lombardo Toledano; *La Clase Patronal*, lecture given at the Instituto de Estudios y Reformas Sociales by Jesús Rivera Quijano, president of the Confederación de Cámaras Industriales de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (Imprenta Victoria); *Manual de Formación Sindical*, by R. P. Andrés Méndez Medina; *La Verdadera Democracia según el Sindicalismo Revolucionario*, by Jorge V. Sosoma (Talleres Linotipográficos "Soria"); *Rusia Soviet y México Revolucionario. Vicente Guerrero, Precursor del Socialismo*, by Rafael Ramos Pedrueza (edited by la Secretaría de Educación; Talleres Gráficos de la Nación); *La Revolución Social* by José López Dóñez (edition of the Unión de Obreros y Empleados de Artes Gráficas de los Talleres Oficiales); *Las Comisiones Mixtas de Derecho Internacional Público y las que se Propone crear el Acuerdo Presidencial de 12 de julio de 1921*, by Guillermo Hernández Vallados (Talleres Linotipográficos de Fernando Rodarte); *Cuál es la mayor Victoria del Mundo*, by Juan Orts González (Publicación de la Secretaría de Educación Pública); *Mi última Compañía*, by Vincente Antonio Fernández (preface by Carlos Roumagnac); *Ensayos sobre Política Internacional Mexicana*, by Anselmo Mena (Imprenta Victoria); *La Propiedad ante el Nuevo Derecho*, by Rafael Mateos Escobedo, Mérida, Yucatan; *Catorce Rojo* (Crónicas de Puebla), by Alfonso León de Garay (Imprenta Nacional); *Lecciones de Elocuencia Forense, dadas en 1914 en la Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia de México*, by Francisco Elguero (Imprenta de Manuel León Sánchez Suks); *La Contribución de Patente. Interpretación Científica del concepto del "Capital Inver-*

*tido*", by A. Beteta (Herrero Hnos); *Méjico en su Momento Crítico*, by Dr. E. J. Dillon (Talleres Gráficos de Herrero Hermanos Sucs.); *¿Cómo puede un Extranjero, casado en un País, divorciarse en Yucatán?*, by Hernán Irigoyen Díaz (Universidad Nacional del Sureste, Imp. y Lit. de Gamboa Guzmán, Mérida, Yucatan); *Gracia y Justicia. A los Americanos de todas las Américas*, by Tomás Cerón Camargo (Imprenta Hispano-Mexicana); *Resoluciones del Congreso Internacional de Estudios de Méjico* (Talleres Gráficos); and *El Contrato de la Huerta-Lamont*, by Antonio Manero (Botas e Hijo) which contains items as follows: *La Recuperación del Crédito Público, Un ejemplo de honradez internacional y financiera, Las nuevas finanzas petroleras. Un ahorro de 628,000,000, La nulificación de la indemnización de los ferrocarriles, La honradez de De la Huerta and La Sobreraria Incólume.*

Among historical books and pamphlets the following are worthy of mention: *Un Crimen de Hernán Cortés*, by Alfonso Toro (Librería de Manuel Mañon); *Relación Apologética sobre la importancia tradicional de la Imprenta. La grafia antes y después de Gutemberg. Las Ideas Modernas*, lecture given at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología e Historia by José López Doñez (Imp. de Manuel León Sánchez); *El Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Pedro Gómez Maraver, Rectificaciones de la Inscripción del retrato de este Prelado, que se conserva en la Sala Capitular de la Metropolitana de Guadalajara*, read at the Junta Auxiliar Jalisciense de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, and *¿Cómo se appellidaba el cuarto Obispo efectivo de Guadalajara?*, by J. Ignacio Dávila-Garibi (Tipografía F. J. Velasco, Guadalajara); *Narraciones Tlaxcaltecas*, two volumes of legends and traditions by Carlos de Gante (Tip. "Gante", Puebla); *Album Histórico Gráfico*, by Luis González Obregón y Nicolás Rangel, opuscle No. 2, which gives information of all Mexican events from Presidente Díaz to General Obregón (Agustín Casasola e Hijos); *Breve reseña genealógica de la familia Izquierdo*, by José Joaquín Izquierdo (Imprenta de la Secretaría de Gobernación); *Oaxaca. De sus Historias y de sus Leyendas*, by Fernando Ramírez de Aguilar (Editorial Botas e Hijo); *Federico Alejandro. Baron de Humboldt*, paper read at the meeting of Geografía y Estadística to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the German sage, by Alberto M. Carreño; *Guanajuato Gráfico e Histórico*, by Agustín Lanuza; *Colombia y Méjico*, by Arturo Quijano (Bogotá);

*La Catedral de Toluca*, by Manuel Francisco Alvarez (Imprenta de J. Ballescá); and *El Emperador de México*, a novel by Arturo Fenochio (Talleres Gráficos de "El Nacional"). In Guadalajara, under the auspices of the archbishop, Dr. Francisco Orozco y Jiménez there was begun in January, 1922, the publication of the *Colección de Documentos Históricos Inéditos muy raros, referentes al Arzobispado de Guadalajara*; and under the authorship of the Marqués de San Francisco has appeared the *Historia Sintética del Arte Colonial* (Porrúa Hnos). Other historical works are as follows: *Historia de la Revolución de Nueva España, antiguamente Anáhuac ó verdadero origen y causas de ella con la Relación de sus Progresos hasta el presente año de 1913*, by José Guerra (Fr. Servando de Teresa y Mier), second edition in two volumes issued by the National Congress at its Printing Office, by suggestion of Miguel Martínez Rendón; *Méjico Contemporáneo*, by Augusto Genin (A. F. Salazar y Cía); *El Santo Desierto de Cuajimalpa o Desierto de los Leones. Notas históricas y descriptivas para uso de los Visitantes a este lugar*, by Dr. Nicolás León (Imprenta de Manuel León Sánchez Sues); *Chiapas*, lecture given at the Washington University of Law and Diplomacy by Domingo Paniagua B.; and the second volume of *Historia de la Iglesia de Méjico* by Rev. Father Mariano J. Cuevas, S. J.

Among the book-texts are: *Etica*, by Vicente Lombardo Toledano; *El Problema Filosófico de la Educación*, by Antonio Caso, (in "Humanidades", Buenos Aires, Tomo III.); *Conferencias de Biología*, by Dr. Eduardo Urzáiz (Talleres Gráficos de "La Revista de Yucatán," Mérida); *Mirando al Porvenir* by Miguel Galindo (Tip. El Dragón, Colima); *Alma Latina*, reading-books by Francisco César Morales (Compañía Nacional Editora "Aguilas"); *El Código del Maestro. Prolegómenos de Pedagogía* by Ignacio Ramírez; *Arte Decorativo. Enseñanza del Dibujo y la Literatura Decorativos*, by A. Gariel Vda. de Carrillo (Secretaría de Educación, Talleres Gráficos); and *Redacción de las Noticias Bibliográficas según las Reglas dadas por el Instituto Internacional de Bibliografía de Bruselas*, and *Biblioteconomía. Tablas Generales compendiadas del Sistema Decimal "Melvil Dewy" con las Modificaciones introducidas en él por el Instituto Internacional de Bibliografía de Bruselas*, by Mario Enríquez (both published by the Secretaría de Educación). The distinguished bibliographer Juan B. Iguíniz, Acting Librarian of the National

Library, is publishing (1922) his *Elementos de Bibliografía*, remarks of his lectures to the employees of Libraries Department of the Bureau of Education. Ch. Bouret has edited the following school-texts: *Zoología Experimental*, by G. M. Bruño; *Cuentas Corrientes a Interés*, by Vicente Antonio Fernández; *Nociones de Historia de México*, by Ignacio Loureda; *La Llave de la Dicha Doméstica*, by Delfina C. Rodríguez; *Lecturas de Economía Deméstica*, by María Luisa Ross; *Nueva Geografía Universal*, by José María Royo; *El Universo y la Moral*, by Salvador Cordero; *Curso de Contabilidad*, by Vicente Antonio Fernández; *Infancia*, 4th. Reading book, second edition, by Abel Ayala and Antonio Pons (Compañía Editorial Nacional "Aguilas"); and *Flores de Primavera. Colección de Lecturas Escogidas para Alumnas de las Escuelas Primarias Superiores*, by Miguel López de Heredia (Herrero Hermanos). Julio Jiménez Rueda is the author of *Literatura Mexicana. Programa de Estudios para la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*.

*Simpatías y Diferencias*, by Alfonso Reyes, third series, Madrid, brings this suggestive summary: "La Serenidad de Amado Nervo", "El Camino de Amado Nervo", "El Periquillo Sarmiento y la Crítica Mexicana", "Un porfiriano: El Maestro Sánchez Mármol", "Ramón Gómez de la Serna", "Remy de Gourmont y la Lengua Castellana" and "El Cine". *Verbo Selecto*, by Eduardo Colín (Ediciones México Moderno) consists of notes on Hispanic-American contemporary writers.

Scientific monographs of importance include: *Papel del Piojo en la Producción del Tabardillo*, by doctor José Terrés (Segundo Congreso Nacional del Tabardillo); *Instrucciones para defenderse de la Fiebre Amarilla e impedir la propagación de esa enfermedad*, edited by the Departamento de Salubridad Pública; *Historia del Cuerpo Médico Militar. Relación de varios Jefes del Cuerpo Militar hasta el año de 1860*, by Dr. Manuel S. Soriano (Tipografía Guerrero Hermanos); *Semiología Diagnóstica y Clínica Esplénica*, by Guillermo Villanueva Urrutia (Imprenta del Asilo "Patricio Sánz", Tlálpan D. F.); *La Reacción de Shick en México*, by Octavio Rojas Avendaño (Tipografía Hijos de J. Aguilar Vera); *La Homeopatía ante las Ciencias Naturales*, by Dr. Rafael Colome; *Tratamiento de la Sífilis por el Sublimat-Salvarsán de Linser*, by Servando Osorio Camarena (Linotipografía Artística); *Materia Médica Homeopática*, by Dr. Wil-

liam Ide Pierce, translation by Dr. Miguel Pozo (Editores, Botas e Hijo); *La Chara Foetida A. Br. y las Larvas de Estegomyia, Culex y Anopheles*, by Dr. Arturo Caballero, of the University of Barcelona (edition of the Departamento de Salubridad Pública, Imprenta Victoria); *Contribución al Estudio de la Pielografía*, by Lauro M. Ceballos (Linotipografía Artística); *Contribución al estudio Médico Legal de la Cocaína*, by Federico J. Molas Olivares; *La Limitación Racional de la Familia como Mejoramiento del Proletariado y de la Raza*, by Esperanza Velásquez Bringas (Biblioteca de la Liga de Maestros Racionalistas "Francisco Ferrer Guardia", Imprenta Mayab, Mérida, Yucatán); *Importancia de algunos Cérvidos en la Alimentación. Introducción y Aclimatación de ciertas especies exóticas, Domesticación de las Abórigenes*, by Carlos López (Imprenta de la Dirección de Estudios Biológicos); *La Anestesia Local para las Extracciones Dentarias*, by Emma Abreu y Abreu (Antigua Imprenta de Murguía); *Estado Actual de la Higiene Escolar en la Ciudad de México*, by Ignacio Millán y M. (Tipografía de la Escuela Industrial de Huérfanos); *La Importancia de la Higiene de la Boca*, by Dr. Alfonso Pruneda; *La Higiene Pública desde el Punto de Vista Filosófico*, by Agustín Aragón; *Importancia de la Higiene de la Boca como signo de Cultura*, by Dr. Pedro García Medrano (Imprenta Victoria); and *Manual Práctico de Curtiduría*, by Arturo Certucha (Talleres Linotipográficos de la Escuela Industrial de Huérfanos).

Business-men will read with interest: *El Cultivo de la Hebra del Lino en México*, by Alfonso and Fernando Martín del Campo, Guadalajara; *Ensayos de Veinte Muestras de Cementos. Especificaciones Mexicanas sobre Cemento Portland*, published by Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas; *El Anuncio en México*, by Desiderio Marcos, which discusses the following: *Lo que se gasta en anuncios, El poder del anuncio, Los efectos del anuncio, Las diferentes clases de anuncios, Los periódicos, Los publicistas, Los agentes de anuncios, Los departamentos de anuncios*; and the *Directory of the Mexican States*, by L. F. Fritsche (American Book & Printing Company).

In the field of ecclesiastical bibliography we mention: *Cartas de Jack*, by Monseñor Dr. D. Francisco C. Kelley, with preface by Dr. Francisco Orozco y Jiménez and translation from the English by Prbo. José Gutiérrez Pérez (Publicación de la Asociación Católica de

la Juventud Mexicana, Unión Regional de Jalisco, Estudios Sociales); and *Benedicto XV, Pontífice de la Paz y Benemérito de la Humanidad*, by Dr. Prbo. M. José Franco Ponce (Agencia Eclesiástica).

Students of archaeology and ethnology have contributed various volumes; namely: *Jeroglíficos de Apellidos Españoles* (Estudio de interpretación presentado a la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística), by Father José María Arriola; *¿Qué quiere decir el Nombre de Chiapas?* (estudio etimológico y geroglífico), by Prof. Marcos E. Becerra (edited by the Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"); *Antigüedad del Hombre en el Valle de México*, by George A. Hyde; and *Nueva Orientación Arqueológica e Histórica*, by Ramón Mena (Imprenta Nacional); *Crítica Científica de la Devastación de los Monumentos Arqueológicos de Teotihuacán*, by Leopoldo Batres, former superintendent and curator of the Mexican Archaeological Monuments; *La Mascara con Mosaico de turquesas. Dictámenes periciales* (Imprenta del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología), containing the opinions relative to a mask found by Porfirio Aguirre, by Ramón Mena, Dr. Byron Cummings, Luis G. García, W. Niven, Genaro Estrada, Juan Palacios, Paul Waitz, H. J. Cornyn, Otakar Roubicek, and Salvador Miranda (also see Hernán Beyer's opinion published in *Revista de Revistas*, October 26, 1921). The American archaeologist, Mr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley read at one of the meetings of the Twentieth Congress of Americanists, Río Janeiro, his paper entitled "Tuluum, An American Troy".

But unquestionably, the foremost work relating to the archaeology, ethnology and folklore of Mexico, is *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán. El medio en que se ha desarrollado, la Evolución Etnica y Social*, published by the Dirección General de Antropología, under the direction of Dr. Manuel Gamio, printed by the Dirección de Talleres Gráficos, and enriched by numerous and superb illustrations and maps of the locality. The preface and conclusions are subscribed by Dr. Gamio (102 pages). The monographs of the first volume are as follows: "Datos Geográficos", by Ezequiel Ordóñez; "Manifestaciones Intelectuales de Cultura en el Período Acolhua", by Professor Roque Conzatti; "Arquitectura y Escultura, Antigüedades Post-Teotihuacán-Ceballos Novelo; "Fauna y Flora de la Región", by Professor C. cana o Azteca", by Professor Herman Beyer; "Artes Menores", by Dr. José María Arreola, "Estratigrafía y Extensión Cultural", by J.

Reygadas Vértiz, and "Relaciones con otras Civilizaciones", by Ramón Mena. In the second volume, which refers to *La Población Colonial y la Población del Siglo XIX*, appear: "Datos Geográficos", "Composición y número de la Población", "Ideas y Costumbres", "Historia Política, Historia Religiosa", "Organización Económica", "Apuntes para la Genealogía de los señores de Teotihuacán", "Datos Geográficos", by Ignacio B. del Castillo, "Copias y Documentos en Mexicano", by Dr. José María Arreola, "Arquitectura Cristiana", by Ignacio Marquina, "Artes Menores", by Professor Antonio Cortés, "Participación de la Población del Valle en la Guerra de Independencia", by Alfonso Toro, and "Aspecto de la Población en el Siglo XIX", by S. Mendieta y Núñez. The contemporary population is widely studied in the third volume, the preface being signed by Reygadas Vértiz, and the volume containing the following papers: "Rocas y Minerales del Valle", by Pedro A. de Landero, "Sistema del Riego del Valle", by Jesús Oropesa, "Consideraciones Arícolas y Forestales", by Gonzalo González and David Géniz M., "Censo de la Población, El Problema Agrario en México" and "La Organización Económica de los Pueblos del Valle", by L. Mendieta Núñez, "Condiciones Físico-Biológicas", by Professor Paul Siliceo Pauer, "Apuntes Etnográficos", by Carlos Noriega Hope, "La Educación Regional", by Professor Roque Ceballos Novelo, "Arquitectura Contemporánea", by Ignacio Marquina, "Folk-Lore" and "El Mexicano de Teotihuacán", by Professor P. González Casanova, and "Toponimia Indígena", by Dr. Arreola.

The Imprenta del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología has in press (1922) : *Arquitectura en México*, Vol. II., by Professor Antonio Cortés; *Diccionario de Mitología Náhuatl* and *Jardín de Raíces Aztecas*, by Dr. Cecilio A. Robelo; *La Vida en México*, the famous diary written by Marquesa Calderón de la Barca, translated from the English by Victoriano Salado Alvarez; *Historia de la Creación del Cielo y de la Tierra, conforme al Sistema de la Gentilidad Americana*, by Pbro. Ramón de Ordóñez y Aguear; *Album de Colecciones Arqueológicas*, selected and compiled by Dr. Franz Boas, with illustrations by Adolfo Best Maugard and text by Dr. Manuel Gamio; and *Breve Reseña del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología*, by Jesús Galindo Villa.

Other books in press of poetry and prose (1922) are: *El Minutero*, prose pieces by the late Ramón López Velarde, compiled by his friend, Enrique Fernández Ledesma; *Cosas del Corazón*, poems by Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano; *La Casa*, poems by Jaime Torres Bodet; *En el Dintel*, by Enrique Carniado, *Baladas del Terruño*, by Severo Amador; and *Desde las Riberas del Plata*, by Xavier Sorondo.

Toward the very close of 1922, were published the following books: *La Corte de Agustín Primero, Emperador de México*, by Manuel Romero de Terreros, and *Cómo Era Iturbide* (bibliography, chronology, biography, iconography, and heraldry), by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, both papers edited by the Imprenta del Museo Nacional; *El Arte en la Nueva España*, by Francisco Diez Barroso (Cía. Mexicana de Artes Gráficas,—the book mistakenly bears the date of 1921), *Las Calles de México* (leyendas y sucedidos), by Luis González Obregón (Imp. M. León Sánchez Sucs.); *Recuerdos de España* (artículos, anécdotas y poesías), by Juan de Dios Peza (E. Gómez de la Puente, editor, México, D. F.); *Memorias de Porfirio Díaz* (2d. edition), vol. I (Ediciones "El Libro Francés"); *La Cronología Náhuatl. Significación astronómica del Número 13, El Movimiento de la Tierra conocido por los Nahuas. Los cuatro ciclos astronómico-cronológicos and Las Artes Aborígenes Mexicanas*, all three by Miguel O. de Mendizábal (Imprenta del Museo Nacional); *Rasgos Biográficos del ejemplar Teniente de la Infantería Española D. Ramón Chinchilla y Orantes heroicamente fallecido en África el 28 de agosto de 1921*, by Father Mariano J. Cuevas, S. J. (Antigua Imprenta de Murguía); *Un Continente y una Raza Nuevos*, lecture delivered the day of Fiesta de la Raza at the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, by Alberto María Carreño (Imprenta Victoria); *Cuauhtémoc*, by Luis González Obregón (Grande Livraria Editoria Leite Ribeiro, Río de Janeiro); *¿Qué bebida puede reemplazar al Pulque?*, by José D. Morales (Antigua Imprenta de Murguía); *La cuestión de Juan Felipe* (Estudio sobre los permisos de perforación en terrenos indivisibles), edition by Talleres Gráficos de la Nación "Soria"; *El Servicio Militar Obligatorio* (apuntes sobre la reorganización del Ejército), by General Gustavo A. Salas (Talleres Lino-Tipográficos de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios del Estado, Guadalajara, Jal.); *Pensadores y Artistas*, by Esperanza Velásquez Bringas (Editorial "Cultura"); *Exploración Radiológica del Corazón en Relación con la Percusión Digital*, by Ranulfo Bravo

Sánchez (Talleres Linotipográficos de "El Universal"); *Sistema Nuevo para el Tratamiento de la Carie de los Dientes temporales y para la Conservación de la Vitalidad del paquete Vásculo-Nervioso*, by Dr. Angel Zimbrón, Jr. (Editorial "Cultura"); *Las Tribulaciones de una Familia Decente. Cuadros y escenas de la Revolución Mexicana*, by Mariano Azuela (Biblioteca de "El Mundo"); *El Colegio del Estado de Puebla. Los estudios médicos*, by Dr. J. Joaquín Izquierdo (Talleres Gráficos de la Nación); *Mortalidad de los Niños Menores de once años en la Ciudad de Oaxaca, considerada en los años de 1910 a 1920 inclusive*, by Dr. Ramón Pardo (Editorial "Patria", Oaxaca); *Bajo la Cruz del Sur* (Impresiones de Sud-América) by Julio Jiménez Rueda (Librería Editorial de Manuel Mañón); *La Ruina de la Casona* (Novela de la Revolución Mexicana), by E. Maqueo Castellanos (Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, editor); *Evolución Educacional de México* (lecture given at the Universidad de Santiago and at the Instituto Comercial of Valparaíso), by the Mexican Minister in Chile, Licentiate Carlos Trejo Lerdo de Tejada (Imprenta "El Globo", Santiago); and *Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona, comprendiendo la crónica titulada "Favores Celestiales" y la "Relación Diaria de la Entrada al Noroeste" por el Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino (Kune)* (Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, Secretaría de Gobernación, Ed. "Cultura", México, 1913-1922).

The scientific Society "Antonio Alzate" has edited: *Nota acerca de la Histología de la Sangre de la Aguililla (buteo borealis)* by Dr. Eliseo Ramírez and Professor I. Ochoterena; *Reseña Geológico-Minera de la Región de El Oro, Méx., y Tlalpujahua, Mich.*, by Andrés Villa-faña; *La Ciudad de México no se Hunde por la falta de Lagos en sus Alrededores* by Miguel A. de Quevedo, and *Nueva Nota sobre los Nortes del Golfo* by Professor Elpidio López (Talleres Gráficos de la Nación).

The publishing house "Cultura" has issued the following books: *El Corazón Delirante* and *Canciones*, poems by Jaime Torres Bodet, the first with a preface by Arturo Torres Ríoseco and the second with an eulogy of song by the great Chilean poet, Gabriela Mistral; *Apólogos de mi Breviario*, by Luis Garrido; *Analgesia Obstétrica* (Tesis para examen profesional de Medicina, Cirugía y Obstétrica), by Jaime N. Casanova y Casao; *Mi España*, by Pedro Henríquez Ureña; *Teo-*

*sofía Práctica*, by C. Jinarajadasa (Librería Orientalista); *Contribución al Estudio de la Anafilaxia y su Tratamiento por algunas Sales de Sodio*, by Luciano Morales; *Miniaturas Mexicanas*, by Daniel Cosío Villegas; and *Estudio Físico, Químico y Citológico, del líquido cefalorraquídeo*, by José G. Ríos.

Other literary books include: *Carne de Dolor y de Placer*, by J. M. Herrera Alarcón, (Editorial Botas e Hijo); *Himno al Agua*, by Alberto Herrera (Imprenta Nacional); *Canciones de Humano Amor*, by Gregorio de Gante (Imprenta del Gobierno del Estado, Tlaxcala, Tlax.); and *De Primavera y de Otoño*, by Benito Fentanes (Tip. Viuda e Hijos de Aurelio D. Lara, Jalapa).

For general public service, there are three important reports; namely: *Guía para visitar el Museo Nacional de Historia Natural* (Director: Alfonso L. Herrera; Talleres Gráficos de la Nación); *Índice de Estaciones de los Ferrocarriles de la República Mexicana con indicación de su Altura sobre el Nivel del Mar y de su Colocación en el Mapa ferrocarrilero a Escala de 1:3000.000* (issued by Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, Dirección de Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos, Director Pedro C. Sánchez, Tacubaya); and *Memoria del Primer Congreso de Escuelas Preparatorias de la República* (Editorial "Cultura").

The weekly magazine "El Universal Ilustrado" is giving (1922) to its readers a weekly novel, and has already published: *La Comedianta*, by Carlos Gustavo Martínez; *Siphros*, by Armando C. Amador; *Dantón*, by Francisco Monterde y García-Icazbalceta; *La Grande Ilusión*, by Carlos Noriega Hope; and *Las Sierpes Negras*, by Carlos Barrera.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

Mexico.

1923.

## NEWSPAPER FILES IN THE LIBRARY OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION<sup>1</sup>

The importance of newspapers and of their conservation needs no demonstration. The list given below is of those papers conserved for one year or permanently in the Library of the Pan American Union. It is, of course, physically impossible to provide space for all the papers of each American country. The library does, however, conserve a few of the important papers of each country, including, as will be noted, the official organs. These may be consulted on request in the library.

| <i>Name of Paper</i>  | <i>Published at</i> | <i>Period Covered</i>                  |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--|
| ARGENTINA             |                     |  |
| Boletín Oficial       | Buenos Aires        | February 1, 1899, to date              |
| La Nación             | Buenos Aires        | One year                               |
| La Prensa             | Buenos Aires        | July, 1905, to date                    |
| BOLIVIA               |                     |  |
| El Diario             | La Paz              | *One year                              |
| La República          | La Paz              | October 15, 1922, to date              |
| Gaceta Oficial        | La Paz              | February 25, 1924, to January 25, 1926 |
| BRAZIL                |                     |  |
| Diario Oficial        | Rio de Janeiro      | April, 1897, to date                   |
| O Estado de São Paulo | São Paulo           | One year                               |
| Jornal do Brasil      | Rio de Janeiro      | September 13, 1919, to date            |
| CHILE                 |                     |  |
| Diario Oficial        | Santiago            | August 2, 1877, to date                |
| El Mercurio           | Santiago            | January, 1914, to date                 |
| El Mercurio           | Valparaiso          | One year                               |
| COLOMBIA              |                     |  |
| El Diario Nacional    | Bogotá              | One year                               |
| Diario Oficial        | Bogotá              | October 7, 1879, to date               |
| El Nuevo Tiempo       | Bogotá              | October 1, 1918, to date               |
| COSTA RICA            |                     |  |
| Correo Nacional       | San José            | One year                               |
| Diario de Costa Rica  | San José            | August 13, 1921, to date               |

\* The asterisk indicates papers that are filed permanently only when enough copies of any one year are received to justify keeping. Many sets of the newspapers are incomplete.

| <i>Name of Paper</i>     | <i>Published at</i>            | <i>Period Covered</i>       |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| La Gaceta                | San José [Official news-paper] | 1893 to date                |
|                          | CUBA                           |                             |
| Diario de la Marina      | Habana                         | July 1, 1926, to date       |
| Gaceta Oficial           | Habana                         | July 1, 1902, to date       |
|                          | DOMINICAN REPUBLIC             |                             |
| El Diario                | Santiago de los Caballeros     | One year                    |
| Gaceta Oficial           | Santo Domingo                  | March 10, 1902, to date     |
| Listin Diario            | Santo Domingo                  | December 23, 1909, to date  |
|                          | ECUADOR                        |                             |
| El Comercio              | Quito                          | May 14, 1910, to date       |
| El Guante                | Guayaquil                      | One year                    |
| Registro Oficial         | Quito                          | September 16, 1892, to date |
| El Telégrafo             | Guayaquil                      | One year                    |
|                          | GUATEMALA                      |                             |
| El Dia                   | Guatemala                      | One year                    |
| Diario de Centro-América | Guatemala                      | January 1, 1908, to date    |
| Excelsior                | Guatemala                      | One year                    |
| El Guatemalteco          | [Official Paper]               | January 27, 1898, to date   |
|                          | HAITI                          |                             |
| Le Matin                 | Port-au-Prince                 | January 18, 1911, to date   |
| Le Moniteur              | Port-au-Prince                 | Permanent                   |
|                          | [Official Paper]               |                             |
|                          | HONDURAS                       |                             |
| El Cronista              | Tegucigalpa                    | One year                    |
| Diario del Norte         | La Ceiba                       | One year                    |
| La Gaceta                | Tegucigalpa                    |                             |
| Reconciliación           | [Official Paper]               | January 2, 1899, to date    |
|                          | Tegucigalpa                    | *One year                   |
|                          | MEXICO                         |                             |
| Boletín Oficial          | Hermosillo, Sonora             | January 2, 1919, to date    |
| Diario Oficial           | México, D. F.                  | May 23, 1877, to date       |
| El Estado de Colima      | Colima [Official Paper]        | January 18, 1919, to date   |
| Diario Oficial           | Mérida, Yucatan                | January 1, 1917, to date    |
| Excelsior                | México, D. F.                  | One year                    |
| Periódico Oficial        | Campeche                       | March 1, 1919, to date      |
| Periódico Oficial        | Culiácan, Sinaloa              | January 2, 1923, to date    |
| Periódico Oficial        | Guanajuato                     | July 4, 1918, to date       |
| Periódico Oficial        | Mexicali,                      |                             |
|                          | Baja California                | April 20, 1922, to date     |

| <i>Name of Paper</i>          | <i>Published at</i>      | <i>Period Covered</i>                      |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Periódico Oficial             | Saltillo, Coahuila       | April 24, 1926, to date                    |
| Periódico Oficial             | Tuxtla Gutierrez         | March 22, 1919, to date                    |
| El Universal                  | México, D. F.            | October 1, 1916, to date                   |
| NICARAGUA                     |                          |  |
| El Diarito                    | Managua                  | One year                                   |
| El Diario Nicaragüense        | Granada                  | One year                                   |
| La Gaceta Oficial             | Managua [Official Paper] | June 1, 1903, to date                      |
| La Mañana                     | Managua                  | *One year                                  |
| PANAMA                        |                          |  |
| Gaceta Oficial                | Panamá                   | February 25, 1904, to date                 |
| Star and Herald               | Panamá                   | January, 1915, to date                     |
| PARAGUAY                      |                          |  |
| El Diario                     | Asunción                 | January, 1915, to date                     |
| Diario Oficial                | Asunción                 | January 12, 1918, to date                  |
| El Orden                      | Asunción                 | One year                                   |
| PERU                          |                          |  |
| La Crónica                    | Lima                     | One year                                   |
| El Peruano                    | Lima [Official Paper]    | July 1, 1899, to date                      |
| La Prensa                     | Lima                     | *Permanent, 1913 to 1921, and 1925 to date |
| El Tiempo                     | Lima                     | 1921-1924                                  |
| La Sanción                    | Callao                   | One year                                   |
| SALVADOR                      |                          |  |
| Diario Oficial                | San Salvador             | September 18, 1900, to date                |
| Diario del Salvador           | San Salvador             | January, 1906, to date                     |
| La Prensa                     | San Salvador             | One year                                   |
| UNITED STATES                 |                          |  |
| The Christian Science Monitor | Boston                   | Two months                                 |
| Congressional Record          | Washington, D. C.        | Permanent                                  |
| The Evening Star              | Washington, D. C.        | Two months                                 |
| The New York Times            | New York                 | Two months                                 |
| La Prensa                     | New York                 | Two years                                  |
| The United States Daily       | Washington, D. C.        | One year                                   |
| The Wall Street News          | New York                 | Two months                                 |
| The Washington Post           | Washington, D. C.        | Two months                                 |

## URUGUAY

|                |            |                             |
|----------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| El Dia         | Montevideo | One year                    |
| Diario Oficial | Montevideo | September 13, 1905, to date |
| La Mañana      | Montevideo | January, 1923, to date      |

## VENEZUELA

|                 |         |                          |
|-----------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Gaceta Oficial  | Caracas | One year                 |
| El Nuevo Diario | Caracas | January 2, 1923, to date |
| El Universal    | Caracas | May, 1911, to date       |

September, 1926.

C. E. BABCOCK,  
Librarian, Pan American Union.

## NOTES

Dr. Jameson in his *Annual report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington*, for 1925, makes the following announcement regarding the second volume of the new Mexican documents being edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett:

"For the series entitled, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Approaches Thereto*, collected by the late Dr. Adolph Bandelier and Mrs. Bandelier, and edited by Professor Hackett, the second volume was nearly completed before the end of June (and quite completed in July). It is a volume of about the same size as its predecessor, containing 44 documents, almost all of them quite unknown hitherto, derived chiefly from the Archives of the Indies in Seville. The plan is the same as that of the first volume—Spanish texts and careful translations into English on opposite pages, an elaborate introduction by Dr. Hackett, and the needful annotations. This volume comprises that portion of the documents collected which illustrate the history of Nueva Vizcaya in the seventeenth century."

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires announces the following books in press: Biblioteca Argentina de Libros Raros Americanos, Vol. IV, entitled *Libros reales de Gobierno y Gracia de la Secretaría del Perú—Discurso sobre la importancia, forma y disposición de la Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, by Antonio de León; *Contribución al estudio de nuestra toponimia, I, Pilcomayo, Paraguay, Guapay*, by Luis D. Deletan. Late publications of the Institute are as follows: *La Fuente de las fuentes, para la historia de los años 68-69 del Imperio Romano, Estudio realizado en el Seminario de Historia de la Civilización*, Curso, 1923, dirigido por Profesor Clemente Ricci; *Diccionario de anónimos y sendónimos hispanoamericanos*, apuntes reunidos por José Toribio Medina, 2 vols.; *Inventarios del Archivo General de Indias*, por José Revello de Torre. Publications soon to appear are as follows: *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, Vols. XVIII-XX; *Antecedentes de la Revolución de Mayo*,

Vol. III., by Diego Luis Molinari; *Los Archivos de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, con el Catálogo del Archivo General de la Nación, sección Contaduría y Hacienda*, by Emilio Ravignani; *La Leyenda de los Subterráneos Bonaerenses*, with plates, by Félix F. Outes; *La Edificación en Buenos Aires a fines del siglo XVIII*, with plates, by Félix F. Outes; *El Estatuto de 1815 y la proyectada reforma de 1816*, by Juan Canter, Jr.; *Bibliografía de impresos Argentinos hasta 1852*, by Juan Canter, Jr.; *Pedro Goyena y su época. Ensayo histórico-literario*, by Agustín Sáenz Samaniego. Books in the series "Biblioteca Argentina de Libros Americanos" already published are the following: Antonio de León, *Tratado de confirmaciones reales*, reprint of the first edition, Madrid, 1630, Buenos Aires, 1922; *Leyes y Ordenanzas nuevamente hechas para la gouernaciō de las Indias, 1542-1543*, a reprint of the original edition, Valladolid, 1603, Buenos Aires, 1923; *Tratados de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas o Casaus*, Seville, 1552-1553, Buenos Aires, 1924. These three volumes, which are facsimiles of the originals, are fine examples of book making. Each has an introduction by the Argentinian scholar Emilio Ravagnani.

Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, on March 2, 1925, gave two talks on Hispanic America that were broadcasted from the University of Pittsburgh Studio. The first (talk IX in a series of twelve talks) was "What of President Calles?"; and the second (Talk X), "The interest of the United States in the Caribbean". Both talks are published in Radio Publication No. 11, issued by the University of Pittsburgh, *A Series of twelve radio talks on American foreign policy*. Dr. Cleven has just completed work on a book of Historical Readings in Hispanic American History, which it is hoped will be available before the end of the year. An introduction has been written to this work by James A. Robertson. Dr. Cleven has been appointed delegate to the Panama Congress by the University of Pittsburgh and will read one of the papers at that centenary.

Miss Kathryn Abbey, who has just taken her Ph.D. at Northwestern University, and who will join the historical faculty of the Florida College for Women at Tallahassee, Florida, has written her thesis on "Florida and the American Revolution".

Dr. Fernando Ortiz, of Havana, member of the Cuban Senate, well known for his valuable work in Cuban folklore, and especially in the history of the Afro-cubanos, is also director of the review *Archivos del Folklore Cubano*, of which the second number of the second volume was issued in May, 1926. The above review is not published at stated periods, but only as funds and materials for publication permit. It is designed that four numbers shall form one volume, whatever be the date of their publication. Subscription is four dollars for four numbers in Cuba and the United States, and five dollars to all other countries. Single numbers are not sold. The last number above cited contains, as have all the numbers thus far published, excellent material. The contents are as follows: "Los Altares de Cruz", by Carolina Ponce; "Paremario Antillano. Refranero Portorriqueño", by Cayetano Coll Toste; "Un Guacalito de Cubanismos", by Juan Marinello Vidaurreta; "Del lenguage vernáculo de Cuba", by Fernando Ortiz; "Más adivinanzas Cubanas", by Eugenio Sánchez de Fuentes; "El Tema de Delgadina en el Folklore de Santiago de Cuba", by Carlos A. Castellanos; "Notas bibliográficas acerca del Folklore Cubano", by Carlos M. Trelles; "Folklore del Niño Cubano", by Sofía Córdova de Fernández (continued); "Jigües (Tradición Cubana)", by Antonio Bachiller y Morales; "Juegos infantiles Cubanos." "Pipirigallo", by E. J. Entralgo; "Leyenda Mandinga", by M. Hurtado de Mendoza; "Trabalenguas", by Fernando Ortiz; "El Simbolismo del peinado de las Cubanitas", by Fernando Ortiz; "Noticias y comentarios para la historia del Folklore Cubano", and "Bibliografía, Libros de Aurelio M. Espinosa, Mexican Folkways y Arnold Van Gennep", by Fernando Ortiz. Since 1901, Dr. Ortiz has produced well over a score of books.

An interesting broadside, dated Mexico, February, 1926, has been issued over the signatures of seven members of the Liga de Escritores de América, all of whom are dramatists. The broadside is a protest against the present low level of the theater in Mexico, calls for a heightening of standards, and urges that all debasing factors be banished. The names signed to the documents are as follows: Victor Manuel Diez Barroso, José Joaquín Gamboa, Carlos Lozano García, Lázaro Lozano García, Francisco Monterde, Carlos Noriega Hope, and Ricardo Parada León.

The Grandees of Spain have announced the following competitions:

1. Competition of 1928. A prize of 10,000 pesetas for the best unpublished work, historical and archeological in the Spanish language, concerning one or more of the castles located in Spain. The period for submission of the work for the competition expires on February 1, 1928, and the award will be made before May 1st of that year.
2. Competition of 1930. The unpublished works in Spanish, entering the competition for the 10,000 pesetas for this year shall relate to the Viceroyalties of New Spain or of Peru. The period for submission of the same will expire on February 1, 1930, and the award made before May 1st of the same year. Competitors must send their work with *nom de plume* to his Excellency the Duke of Fernán Núñez, Dean of the Grandees, Calle de Santa Isabel, No. 42, Madrid, and in a separate envelope sealed with wax must be sent with same *nom de plume* the name of the author or authors, together with address. The intention of the competition is to arouse interest in Spain in the United States and to bring about more friendly cultural relations between the two countries.

M. Edmond Buron, of the staff of the Archives Publiques du Canada in Paris has translated into French the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly with critical notes and the marginal notes written by Columbus in his copy of the work which now rests in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. The work, when published, will comprise the Latin text, with its translation into French, the notes by Columbus in the original and translation, the critical notes of the author, and an introduction. There will also be a few reproductions in facsimile. The whole will make a volume of some six or seven hundred pages. It is understood that the translator will consider the sale under certain conditions of the right of translation of his work into English. Only a comparatively few copies of the *Imago Mundi* are known, eight of which are said to be in libraries in the United States. But the one in Seville, with its annotations by Columbus, is the most precious of all.

Mrs. Isabel Sharpe Shepard, formerly of Bogotá, has translated into English Joaquín Acosta's *Compendio histórico del Descubrimiento y Colonización de la Nueva Granada*, Paris, 1848. This translation has not yet been published.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

[The following list, which consists in great part of government and other reports, has been compiled from several lists of recent accessions to the Library of the Pan American Union, in Washington, D. C., that were courteously sent to the REVIEW. These may doubtless be consulted in that library by serious students.]

- Abril, Mateo: *Mirando vivir*. San Salvador, 1926. Pp. 134.
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